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गुरुकुल कांगड़ी विश्वविद्यालय
कृपया पुस्तक के ऊपर कोई निशान आदि
न लगायें।

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पुस्तकालय

गुरुकुल कांगड़ी विश्वविद्यालय, हरिद्वार

बर्ग संख्या.....आगत संख्या..... 97175

पुस्तक-वितरण की तिथि नीचे अंकित है। इस तिथि सहित २० वें दिन तक यह पुस्तक पुस्तकालय में वापिस आ जानी चाहिए। अन्यथा १० पैसे के हिसाब से विलम्ब-दण्ड लगेगा।

CATALOGUE OF ŚAKA PAHLAVA COINS
OF
NORTH INDIA
IN
THE STATE MUSEUM, LUCKNOW

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No. 4 Catalogue of Śaka Pahlava Coins of North India

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PREFACE

The coins of the Indo-Greek Rulers, housed in this Museum of Lucknow, have already been discussed and illustrated in No. 2 of the *State Museum Catalogue Series* in 1969. The present book which is being brought out as No. 4 of the same series, deals with the coins of the two succeeding dynasties viz. the Śakas and the Pahlavas.

Not much is known about the Śaka-Pahlava Coins. Much stress till now, has been given on the Indo-Greeks, while those of the Śakas and the Pahlavas remained almost neglected. Except the Catalogues published by the British Museum, London and Punjab Museum, Lahore, in 1886 and 1914, respectively, there is no other work on which the coin collectors, students of Indian Numismatics and the lay readers could rely with confidence. The present book, it is hoped, will meet this need to a certain extent.

The Introduction deals with the fundamental features of the Śaka-Pahlava numismatics. It includes the basic information regarding their types, shape, metal, obverse, and reverse devices, legends, mints and monograms. For the purpose of proper understanding of the importance of the different coin-types, the political career of each king has also been briefly discussed. Without entering into the details different controversial points have been touched in the foot notes.

Catalogue of coins comes next. The total number of coins catalogued is 238 (76 A + 26 B + 136 E). Of these 162 (70 A + 92 E) coins relate to the Scythian kings, while 76 (6 A + 26 B + 44 E) coins are the issues of the Pahlavas. The collection represents quite a good number of coin-types of the most of the kings of the two dynasties. The order of their

arrangement is the one followed in the *Numismatic Notes and Monographs* No. 4, 1957, i.e. 'The Coin-types of the Śaka-Pahlava kings of India' of the Numismatic Society of India. Each coin has been studied in respect to its type, variety, monogram, weight and size. Duplicates are listed in the foot-notes. Weights are recorded in grains and sizes in inches. In each subgroup only the differences have been recorded. Important types of each king, known from other sources but unrepresented in the collection, have also been added in the body of the Catalogue to complete the picture.

The appendices appear in the end. The coin-types of Unrepresented Kings in the collection form the subject matter of Appendix 1. It gives the types, metals and their allied references. Appendix 2 has a glossary of the Greek titles, the Kharoṣṭhī epithets and other important miscellaneous technical terms.

A few of the features, i. e. the political background, special issues, mints, deities, weapons, symbols, English transcriptions of the Greek titles, Sanskrit equivalents and connotations of Prakrit epithets, Greek and Kharoṣṭhī alphabets and the English transcriptions of the Greek and Kharoṣṭhī legends have been added (in the introduction and in appendices,) keeping in view the needs of the fresh students of Śaka-Pahlava coins in the Universities. I shall deem my aim fulfilled if the students feel slightly benefited by these pages.

I would be failing in my duty if I am not to record my deep sense of gratitude to all those, whose works I have freely utilised, while preparing this monograph. In fact, the *Catalogue of Indo-Greek Coins in the Panjab Museum, Lahore*, has been my basic source material. In elaborating certain points I have often consulted and utilised the material incorporated in the *Catalogue of Greek and Scythic kings of Bactria and India in the British Museum* 'An Agrippian source, A study in the Indo-Parthian History' 'The Greeks in Bactria & India' by P. Gardner, Dr. B. N. Mukherjee and W. W. Tarn, respectively. I take this opportunity to express my gratitude to the works of these imminent stalwarts.

My grateful thanks are also due to the Director, Department of Cultural Affairs & Scientific Research, U. P. for providing necessary funds for

the publication of the present monograph.

I have specially a word of thanks to Dr. N. P. Joshi, Director, State Museum, Lucknow, for acceding to my request of going through the manuscript of this Catalogue. The suggestions and critical comments offered by him have certainly helped me in giving this form to the monograph. All the financial and administrative problems regarding the publication of this Catalogue have been processed by Sri V. P. Mathur, Administrative Officer, State Museum, Lucknow. I am sincerely grateful to him. Sri S. C. Rai for the type script, Sri R. K. Sinha for the photographs and cover design, Sri C. S. Srivastava for checking and correcting the proofs and Sri S. K. Singh for the weights of the coins, deserve my special gratitude amongst all others in the Museum staff.

I must not forget Sri J. S. Gupta, Joint Superintendent, Government Press, Aishbagh, Lucknow, who took special interest in preparation of the blocks at my request and got the work processed to our satisfaction.

In the end, I crave the indulgence of my readers for all sorts of omissions and commissions that may have crept in the work.

Lucknow :
Feb. 1, 1972.

A. K. SRIVASTAVA

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ABBREVIATIONS

A/	Gold.
AR	Silver.
Æ.	Copper.
Accn. No.	Accession Register Number.
ASIAR.	<i>Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Reports, Calcutta and Delhi.</i>
BM.	British Museum Collection, London.
B.	Billon.
CCGSK.	<i>A Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum, The Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India in the British Museum, London, 1886, P. Gardner.</i>
CHI.	<i>The Cambridge History of India, Vol. I, Cambridge 1922, Edt. E. J. Rapson.</i>
CASE.	Coins of Alexander's Successors in the East - A. Cunningham, NC., 1868-70, 1872-73.
CII.	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum. Vol. II, pt. I. Kharosthi Inscriptions with the Exception of those of Asoka. Calcutta, 1929, S. Konow.</i>
CCIM.	<i>Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. Vol. I, Oxford, 1906, V. A. Smith</i>

<i>Ex.</i>	Exergue.
<i>Fig.</i>	Figure (Line drawing).
<i>Fn.</i>	Foot notes.
<i>Ibid.</i>	Ibidem.
<i>JNSI.</i>	<i>The Journal of the Numismatic Society of India</i> , Calcutta, Bombay and Varanasi.
<i>JASB.</i>	<i>The Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal</i> , Calcutta.
<i>JBORS.</i>	<i>Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society</i> , Patna.
<i>JBBRAS.</i>	<i>Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society</i> , Bombay.
<i>JRAS.</i>	<i>The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland</i> , London.
<i>JIH.</i>	<i>Journal of Indian History</i> , Trivandrum.
<i>Kh.</i>	Kharoṣṭhī.
<i>leg.</i>	legend.
<i>L. or l</i>	Left (of the reader).
<i>M.</i>	Monogram.
<i>NC.</i>	<i>The Numismatic Chronicle (and Journal of the Royal Numismatic Society)</i> , London.
<i>NS.</i>	<i>Numismatic Supplement of the Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal</i> , Calcutta.
<i>NO.</i>	Number.
<i>P.</i>	Page.
<i>Pl.</i>	Plate.

PMC.	<i>Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum, Lahore.</i> Vol. I, Indo Greek Coins, Oxford, 1914. R. B. Whitehead.
PIHC	<i>Proceedings of the Indian History Congress.</i>
PHAI.	<i>Political History of Ancient India</i> , (5th edition), Calcutta, 1950, H. C. Raychaudhuri.
R. or r.	Right (of the reader).
S.	Size (in inches)
Sl. No.	Serial Number.
Ty.	Type.
Unrep.	Unrepresented.
Vol.	Volume.
W.	Weight (in grains)
ZDMG.	<i>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i> , Leipzig and Wiesbaden.

INTRODUCTION

The Greeks in India were followed by the Scythians and the Parthians. Gradually they extended their supremacy over the North and North-Western Provinces of India. The main sources for the reconstruction of their history are the Greek, the Graeco-Roman annals and the Chinese accounts. Casual references appear in the Brahmanical and Jain texts as well. Besides, there is the evidence of coins and epigraphs to supplement and corroborate the literary data.

Śakas are named in literature as Sacae, Sacarauli, Sacaraucae, etc. or as Sai-Wang. The earliest reference to them is met in the Cuneiform Inscriptions of Darius I. *The Naqshi-Rustam epigraphs*¹, mention *Śaka Haumavarga*, *Śaka Tigrakhauda* (wearers of pointed helmets) and *Śaka Tyaiy paradraya* (Śakas beyond the sea) as their three groups. Amongst the Indian texts, the *Rāmāyaṇa* locates them with the Kambojas² while the *Mahābhārata* comaflagued them with the Pahlavas in the north-west beyond

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1. Sen, S., *Old Persian Inscriptions*, pp. 93, 98. Herodotus has spoken in details about the Śakas while describing the different contingents of Xerxes' forces against the Greeks. He says 'The Sacae or Scyths, clad in trousers had on their heads tall stiff caps rising to a point. They bore the bow of their country... They were in truth Amyrgian Scythians but the Persians called them Sacae, since that is the name which they give to all Scythians. (G. Rawlinson, *The History of Herodotus*, BK. VII, ch. 64.)
2. *Rāmāyaṇa*, IV, 43,12; *Mahābhārata*. II-32, 17.

Śākala. Mention to them is also made in the *Mahābhāṣya*¹ and the Jain text *Kālakācārya Kathānaka*². Their north-Indian settlement at Kīpin is attested also by the Kharoṣṭhī epigraphs and the Chinese annals.³ The Śakas had invaded India from more than one route. In one⁴ they came from Seistan via Arachosia and the Brahui mountains into the lower Indus country. This route can be confirmed by the numismatic evidence⁵ as well. The early Śaka coinage is found in Arachosia and northern Gedrosia on the one hand and in Punjab on the other while they are absent in the upper Kābul valley. In another,⁶ they came from Sai country and Hsien-tu⁷ to Kīpin. This is evident from the Chinese text *C'hien Han shu*.

The original homeland of the Śakas prior to their entry in India, perhaps was the Seistan region—a place in eastern Iran. The *Mathura Lion*

1. II, 4.10.
2. *Journal of Indian History*, XII, 1933, pp. 17.
3. P. C. Bagchi's Presidential Address, sec. 1, *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, VIth session. The *Han-shu* states that formerly when the Hsiung-nu conquered the Yueh-chih the latter emigrated to the west and subjugated the Ta-hsia where upon the Sai-wang went to the south and ruled over Chi-pin (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1903, p. 22).
4. *JRAS.*, 1913, p. 635, fn. 1 & 2; Rapson, *Cambridge History of India*, I, p. 560; Konow, *JIH.*, 1933, XII, p. 19; Tarn, *Greeks in Bactria and India*, p. 232; Marshall, *Taxila*, I, p. 45.
5. Sastri, K.A.N., *A Comprehensive History of India*, II, p. 191.
6. Narain, A.K., *The Indo-Greeks*, p. 142, fn. Gardner maintained that the Śakas entered in Kashmir first, through Karakoram pass and then spread over the Indus region (*Catalogue of Coins of Greeks and Scythic kings of Bactria and India in the British Museum*, p. xi). Similar are the views of P. C. Bagchi (*Journal of the Greater India Society.*, X, No. 2, p. 118 ff) and Stein (*Serindia*, I, p. 8).

*Capital Inscription*¹ No. P. reads *Sarvasa Sak(r) asth-ānasa puyae* which according to Buhler would mean 'In honour of the whole Sakastāna'. The place Sakasthāna included the region of Scythia from which flows down the river Sinthus (Indus) into the Erythrean sea.

Their nationality is another point of dispute. If the entire lot was of Scythians or some Parthians were also intermingled is not known today. Smith² has questioned their Scythian nationality and Rapson³ says that 'It is little more than convenient nomenclature which labels the princes of the Śakas and the Pahlāvas'. The close association of the Śakas and the Pahlavas is borne out by the evidence of coins as well as by various other sources and it is not very much improbable if the tribes invading from eastern Iran had diverse elements.

Political Background

Numismatic evidence reveals, at least three distinct groups of Scythian kings—one proceeding from Vonones and his successors Spalahores and Spalagadames in Arachosia (the west of Indus), the other from Maues and Azes in Punjab and the last of Nahāpāna and his successors in Sindh and Western-Central India.

1. *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, II, pt. I, p. 23 ff. Cunningham, however, interprets the passage as 'For the merit of the people of Sakrastāna' (*Coins of the Śakas*, p. 22.)
2. *Zeitschrift Der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft*, 1906, pp. 49-72.
3. *CHI*, I, pp. 567-68. Thomas arrived at a similar conclusion after studying closely the linguistic survey of the various names of early foreign chiefs, both royal and satrapal known from their coins and inscriptions. (*JRAS.*, 1906, pp. 203 ff.).

The earliest¹ Śaka king was Maues. He is known from a series of coins and an inscription of the year 78 i. e. *Taxila Copper Plate*.² His date of succession is controversial but, usually it is held that he had ascended the throne some time after 32 B.C. and ruled for at least twenty years if Cunningham's reading of Moa in the *Maira Inscription*³ of the year 58 is taken as correct. His known satraps were Liaka Kusulaka, Patika and possibly Damijada.

The extent of the empire of Maues is another issue of speculation. Marshall⁴ ascribes some pieces of Maues showing the types 'Pallas Athene', 'A god with a trident and a club' and 'A goddess with a lamp' to Arachosia on their poor workmanship and clumsy forms of kharoṣṭhī letters. Rapson⁵ located the prevalence of his coin-type 'Enthroned Zeus Nikephoros with the forepart of an elephant with upraised trunk' to Kapiśa region.

1. Recently Dr. Mukherjee has shown that the earliest Śaka king of N.W. India was Damijada and not Maues. He is referred to as 'Dami' on the 'Mounted King holding a spear: goddess holding a wheel' type of coins of king Maues (*Taxila*, II, p. 778 ff.) and in an Inscription found at Shahdaur of the year 60 in the Hazara country (*CHI*, II, pt. I, p. 14). On the basis of the coins, he can only be called a satrap while the epigraph in question would recognise him as *Rājan* or independent king.
2. *CHI*, I, pt. I, p. 28; Sircar, D C., *Select Inscriptions*, p. 120.
3. The date of Maues is somewhat confusing because the date 78 in the *Taxila Copper Plate* is not specified to any known Era. Fleet took the date in Vikrama Era and placed Maues in A. D. 20-21 (*JRAS*, 1914, pp. 994 ff). Rapson ascribed it to the Era of Parthian origin and gave the date of Maues as 78 B. C. (*CHI*, I, p. 570). Jaiswal suggested 42 B. C. (*Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, XVI, 1930, p. 231) while Herzfield kept him in 32 B.C. The latter view was challenged by Ray Chaudhari, according to whom Maues had ruled after 32 B. C. but before second half of the 1st cent. A.D. (*Political History of Ancient India*, pp. 364-65).
4. *Taxila*, II, pp. 778-779.
5. *CHI*, I, p. 558.

Simonetta¹ found even the monograms of his coins as assignable to the Arachosia mint.

Recent researches have proved that most of these theories have now become untenable. The view of Marshall has been refuted by Mukherjee who holds that 'the defects may have been due to the faults on the part of some inefficient die-cutters in North-Western India. Again none of these types occurs on the coins of Vonones and his associates who definitely ruled in Arachosia not much if at all later than Maues. Similarly, the contention of Rapson that the coin-type 'Zeus Nikephoros and fore-part of the elephant' of Maues is to be assigned to Kapiśā has been challenged by Whitehead² on the ground that a female city-deity and not Zeus can be noticed on the coins of Eucratides. So she and not Zeus was the deity of Kapiśā (Kapiśi). If these two views become doubtful the suggestion of Simonetta³ that six mint marks of Maues's coins can be attributed to Arachosia also becomes very much sceptical, for these monograms have been noticed on pieces of Apollodotus⁴ II and Hippostratus⁵ neither of whom had, probably, anything to do with Arachosia. It is also to be noticed that none of these monograms⁶ appears on the coins of Vonones and his associates who were connected with Arachosia.

The evidence of coins when taken together with that of the epigraphs brings out his extent of influence on both the sides of the river Indus from Pushkalāvati on the west to Taxila on the east. His occupation of Taxila is indicated by his series of coins showing 'Zeus standing with a sceptre in his

1. *East and West*, 1957, VIII, pp. 60-62.
2. Mukherjee, B. N., *An Agrippan Source, A study in Indo-Parthian History*, p. 200-01.
3. *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1947, pp. 28 ff; 1950, pp. 205 ff.
4. Narain, A. K., *The Indo-Greeks*, pp. 149, 150. Also cf., N. C., 1923, p. 338; 1940, p. 110.
5. *Ibid.*
6. *East and West*, 1957, VIII, p. 62.

left hand : Nike holding a wreath' and 'Standing Herakles with club : lion standing' types.¹ Liaka Kusulaka, a satrap of Maues, had ruled over Chukhsa according to an epigraph² found near Taxila. The region was, perhaps, situated in the north of the Attock District along the Indus. Even today, the place is known as Chach. It might have even included Taxila in those times. Likewise, the type³ 'Artemis : Bull' ascribable on the assumption of 'Artemis : Bull' coins of Artemidorus⁴ to Peshawar District would indicate his sway over the region of Pushkalāvati.

Maues was succeeded⁵ by Azes group of kings. Their relationship with Maues is not known for certain. It is held⁶ that Maues was a Śaka while

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1. *CCGSK.*, pl. XVI, no. 2,5.
2. *CH.*, II., pt. I, p. 28.
3. *CCGSK.*, pl. XVI, no. 4.
4. *Ibid.*, pl. XIII, no. 2.
5. His succession in N.W. India was perhaps not a direct one (S. Chattopadhyaya, *Early History of North India*, p. 52). Numismatic evidence, as Jenkins has shown (*Journal of Numismatic Society of India*, 1955, XVII pt. II, pp. 14-16), suggests that there was a revival of Greek rule after Maues which was later made extinct by the group of Azes I. Simonetta holds that Spalirises became king after the death of Maues and faced the Greek invasion by co-opting Azes I. (*East and West*, IX, No. 3, p. 167) Rosenfield also agrees with the view (*Dynastic Art of the Kushānas*, p. 127),
6. Konow, S., *CHI.*, I, pp. 572-3. Smith took both the kings as Parthians (*ZDMG*, 1906, pp. 49-72.) Tarn, on the other hand, held that both the kings were Śakas by race (*op. cit.*, p. 346). Similar is the view of Rapson and others (cf. Lehuizen, *The Scythian Period*, pp. 345-46). The numismatic affinity in between their coin-types would make them of one stock.

Azes was a Parthian. The first king in the group was Azes. Coins reveal that there were two kings¹ of the name Azes. Smith² supports it and holds that Azes II was the grandson of Azes I and son of Azilises who, undoubtedly, had succeeded the former (Azes I).

When Azes I actually took over the reins of the empire is not known, but if the date of Maues fixed on the strength of coins and epigraphs is taken for granted, the latter can be placed some where near the middle of the 1st cent. A. D. The similarity of the monograms of Azes and Hippostratus and the restruck coin-type of Hippostratus by Azes⁴ would lend further support to it.

It appears that, prior to his independent status, he had ruled jointly with a king named Spalirises of the Vonones group of Scythian kings of the west of Indus river for a series³ of coins reveal the legend Spalirises in Greek and on the reverse Azes in Kharoṣṭhī characters.

The empire of Azes I included partly the regions held by his predecessor Maues, whose coin-types continued even in this age.

1. Gardner and Whitehead do not distinguish the coins bearing Azes I. Aya as of two kings i. e. Azes I and Azes II. Altekar also held a similar view (*American Numismatic Society, Centennial Publication*, 1958, pp. 45-52).
2. Smith, V.A., *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, I, p. 43 f; Bhandarkar, D.R., *Journal of the Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society*, 1897-1900, XX, pp. 284-286.
3. Marshall placed him in 58-57 B.C. (*JRAS.*, 1914, p. 979).
4. The Punjab Museum Lahore has two such types restruck on the coins of Apollodotus and Hippostratus (*Catalogue of Indo-Greek Coins in the Punjab Museum, Lahore*, I, p. 123, no. p. 244-246).
5. *PMC.*, I. pl. XV, no. iv; G.K. Jenkins, *JNSI.*, XVII, pt. II, pp. 2-3.

It was further extended in Eastern Punjab and there is a possibility that his influence was acknowledged by the Greek kings of Kābul-Vāley¹ as well. The former assertion is confirmed by the issue of 'Pallas Athene' type while a large number of coins picked up from the latter place warrant the other. Thus, his empire extended from Gandhāra to Taxila.

Azes I was succeeded by Azilises. Since we get joint issues² of Azes and Azilises and Azilises and Azes, the natural inference would be that prior to his independent status, Azilises had worked for some time as a co-ruler with the former.

The coins of Azilises have been found in association with Hippostratus in Kashmir (probably Punch) and Hazara valley³ (ancient Urasa). It appears, therefore, that his kingdom had extended within the borders of Kashmir. The type 'King holding a spear and seated Herakles' may be the product of Arachosia⁴ mint. Similarly, the pieces displaying the type 'Mounted king holding a spear: Pallas' may be placed near Gandhāra.⁵ To the Taxila mint⁶ are also associated his standing Zeus with sceptre' and 'Standing Zeus Nikephoros' type of coins. Yet another type of his coins as known 'Abhiṣekha of Lakshmi'. This latter series is assigned to Mathura region. Thus his empire not only embraced the regions of his predecessor⁷ but even extended upto the Mathura⁸ district.

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1. *CHI*, p. 208.
2. *JNSI*, XVII, pt. II, pp. 5-15.
3. A few have been found at Shaikhan Dheri and Taxila as well. (*Ancient Pakistan*, 1965-66, Vol. II, Chart No. 2; *Taxila*, II, p. 783.).
4. *JNSI*, 1955, XVII, pt. II, p. 2. Another type assigned to Arachosia is Mounted king holding a spear on the obverse and a goddess with lamp and palm-branch on the reverse' (*Taxila*, Vol. II, p. 780).
5. *JNSI*, 1955, XVII, pt. II, p. 4, pl. II, No. 4.
6. *Ibid*, pp. 17-20 and 23.
7. *NC*, 1890, p. 106. His coins have been found in the Hazara country and in Punch (*CHI*, I, p. 208) Kashmir.
8. 'The abhiṣekha of Lakshmi by two elephants' is the type attributed to the Mathura area (*PMC*, I, pl. XIII, no. 332).

It appears that Azes II was initially associated with the administration of Azilises. A series of coins reveal the name of Azilises in Greek and that of Azes in Kharoṣṭhī characters. Subsequently Azes II¹ became independent and issued coins bearing his name in Greek character. The coin-types² attributed to him are the debased silver 'Zeus Nikepheros with whip and bronze' 'King seated : Hermes standing'. His empire was confined to only central and western Punjab area.

Findspots of coins indicate that Azes II was supplanted in western Punjab by the Parthian king Gondophares I. We have a variety³ of coins in which Azes is associated with his kshatrapa Aśpavarma, who had later served Gondophares I as well. The date of this change in authority is not definitely known but if the year 103 in the *Takht-i-bāhī Inscription*⁴, which mentions Gondophares as king in his 26th regnal year, is taken to be of Vikrama Era of 58 B.C., the last days of Azes II cannot exceed beyond 19 A.D. This evidence of the epigraph is also supported by the evidence of coins. The reverse type of Artabanus III issued in the year 338 of the Seleucid Era (A.D. 27/28), finds close similarity with that of Gondophares I. According to Dr. Mukherjee,⁵ it displays a male figure sitting on horse back with Tyche holding a palm-branch and an obverse type of Gondophares I. Thus it would appear that a part of Gondophares I rule must have witnessed the period of A.D. 27-28.

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1. There are scholars who read Aya or Aja in the *Kalwan Copper Plate* and in the *Taxila silver Scroll Inscriptions* (*El.*, XXI, p. 259, XIV, p. 295) and have identified him with Azes II.
2. Of the former type 1282 coins and of the latter 862 were found in the excavations at Taxila (*JNSI.*, XVII, pt. II, p. 8).
3. *PMC.*, I, pl. XII, no. 317.
4. *El.*, XVIII, p. 282; *JRAS.*, 1905., p. 231; *CHI*, I, p. 576; *PHAL*, p. 452. However S. Konow has tried to ascribe it to an old Śaka Era of 84 B.C. (*CII.*, II, pt. I, pp. xlv) and Simonetta suggested its association with Drangian Era (*East and West*, 1958, IX, p. 170).
5. Mukherjee, B.N., *op. cit.*, p. 183-84.

The other branch of the Śakas was led by Vonones and his successors. They ruled over Arachosia and other regions on the western borders of India. Besides Vonones, the other known members of the family include Spalahora, Spalagadama and Spalirises. Spalahora is mentioned as *Mahārāja-bhrāta* while Spalagadama is cited as the son of Spalahora in the coin legends of Vonones. This can only be explained if we agree that Spalahora had worked as a viceroy of Vonones. Owing to his immature death his son Spalagadama succeeded him in the similar capacity.

Vonones, in all probability, reigned after Parthian king Mithradates II, in Arachosia. The use of round form of omicron on his coins would place him earlier than 40 B.C. It is also held that the family of Vonones came to Arachosia in the wake of the Arasakid invasion and he had either usurped the authority or conquered² it.

Vonones was succeeded by Spalirsies. W.W. Tarn and Marshall³ believe that *Wu-To-Lao* in *Chien Hun Shu* stood for *Adelphos*, the stem of the form *Adelphou* appearing on the coins of Spaliris. But neither the date of *Wu-To-Lao* is definitely known nor there is precise co-relation in between the two words philologically.

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1. Rapson dated him in 30 B.C. (*CHI.*, I, p. 573) and Konow in 10 B.C. (*CII.*, II, pt. I, p. XLIII, L.)
2. Tarn and Simonetta believe that Vonones was a vassal of Arsakid king (*The Greeks in Bactria & India*, p. 346; *East and West*, 1957, VIII, p. 45.) This view has been refuted by Mukherjee (*op. cit.*, p. 133 fn. 175).
3. *Ibid.*, p. 341 ff; Marshall, *Taxila*, I, pp. 48-49.

Spalirises had issued coins conjointly with Spalagadames and Azes I besides his independent types. Rapson¹ is of the opinion that the coins of Spalirises showing 'Zeus enthroned' type points his authority over Kapiśā (Begram) region. This statement has become doubtful for Whitehead² has conclusively shown that the device in question need not necessarily be considered as a type of Kapiśā. This can only suggest as Dr. Mukherjee³ has observed, the success of Spalirises in some area lying in or near Arachosia against Indo-Greek kings.

The coins of Vonones and his associates are generally found⁴ in modern Kandahar and Ghazni regions though a few of their coin-types have been recorded in Seistan, Kabul, Taxila and different places of the eastern Punjab area of Pakistan. Thus, the provenance of these coins would prove his control over the regions of Arachosia and its vicinity. At the latter place, however, the number of coins found has been so insignificant that it would be difficult to accept the control of these kings over those areas. Consequently, the theories of P. Gardner and Konow about the hold of Vonones over Seistan and Kabul became unacceptable.

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1. *CHI.*, I, 574; Tarn, *op. cit.*, p. 350.
2. *NC.*, 1947, pp. 28-32; 1950, pp. 205-206, 210.
3. Mukherjee, B.N., *op. cit.*, p. 133.
4. *NC.*, 1890, pp. 106-07; *JNSI.*, 1955, XVII, pt. II, p. 25, *Taxila*, II, p. 782. The contents of Mirzakāh and Cahaman hoards would also support the contention.
5. *CCGSK.*, p. xli; Konow, S., *CHI*, II, pt. I, pl. XL. Masson could find only three coins of Spalirises at Begram (*JASB.*, 1836, p. 537; *NC.*, 1890, p. 109).

Indo-Parthians

The Scythian kings were succeeded by the Indo-Parthians. Gondophares was their first ruler. Following him came Abdageses, Pakores, Sanabares and a nameless king with titles 'Basilius, Basilion Soter Megas' etc.

Gondophares, it is held, had worked as a chieftain of Orthagnes prior to his independent status, and had extended his authority¹ from Arachosia to India.

The empire of Gondophares embraced the regions of Arachosia², Gandhāra and Taxila. Even Mathura and Kathiawar were also included therein. The coin-type³ 'King on horse back: Pallas standing' is said to have been minted in Gandhāra region to the west of Indus from where an inscription⁴ of the year 103 referring to Guduvhara has also been discovered. His 'King on horseback: standing Zeus' pieces⁵ according to G.K. Jenkins, can be attributed to Taxila mint. His another coin-type⁶ 'Bust of king: standing Pallas' was, according to Mukherjee⁷, assignable for circulation in the areas to east of Jhelum since a corresponding type remained in circulation there in the time of Strabo I, and II and Rajuvula.⁸

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1. Recently this view has been refuted on the ground that coin-type Orthagnes and Gudrana (*PMC*, I, p. 156) suggests that Gondophares I was not connected with Arachosia immediately after his departure. (Mukherjee, *op. cit.*, p. 101).
2. We have his independent coin-types minted for this region. (A.K. Narain and G.K. Jenkins, *op. cit.*, p. 17). On his Seistān coins the name reads Yndophares or Ondophares while on his Arachosian pieces it is Yndopherres.
3. *JNSI*, 1955, XVII, pt. II, p. 5-3, 23.
4. *CII*, II, pt. I, p. 57.
5. *JNSI*, 1955, XVII, pt. II, p. 15-26.
6. *PMC*, I, pl. XV, no. 39.
7. Mukherjee, B.N., *op. cit.* p. 146. fn. 226.
8. Allan, J., *BMC*, *Ancient India*, p. cxv.

His hold over Mathura has been suggested on the ground that the Gondopharian Symbol or its variety is recorded on the coins of Kshatrapa Hagana and Hagamasa¹. Likewise, his influence over the areas of Kutch and Kathiawad is suggested on the assumption of Mukherjee that Ptolemy's² information on Indo-Scythia is datable to the period of Gondophares. Marshall³ also supported it by saying that Sapedanēs (of the group of Gondophares I) should be identified with Sandanēs who is mentioned in the *Periplus* as ruling over Calliēna. This Sapedanēs, according to him, had ruled as a subordinate ruler to Gondophares I.

He was assisted in his administration by three chieftains i. e. Sasana, Gaḍa and Aśpavarma. The first⁴ and the last⁵ are known from coins while the second is known in the legends⁶ and possibly from the coins⁷ as well. Gondophares was succeeded by Abdagases, his nephew. He was also associated with him in administration prior to his independent status. The 'Mounted horseman' type of coins with legend 'Gundiphero Adelphideos, and 'Gudupherabrātā putrasa mahārajasa tratarasa Avadagasasa' would substantiate it. His independent status is borne out by his coin-type 'Bust of king : Nike'. His empire extended up to Seistan and Kandahār.

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1. Allan, J., *BMC.*, Ancient India, p. cxi.
2. Mukherjee, B.N., *op. cit.*, p. 146, fn. 227.
3. Marshall, *Taxila*, I, p. 60. The theory of his control over these regions has been refuted by Chattopadhyaya and others (See S. Chattopadhyaya, *Early History of North India*, p. 66; *JAS.*, 1963, I, p. 90).
4. *PMC.*, I, p. 148.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 150.
6. The *Acts of St. Thomas* [E.A.W. Budge, *The contentings of the Apostle*, II, pp. 406-19] mentions one Gaḍ as a brother of Gūdnaphar, a king of India.
7. *NC.*, 1950, pp. 223-25, no. 16.

The authority of Abdagases, according to Simonetta, was challenged by Sasan. In this struggle, Abdagases got Drangianā and Arachosia, while the latter secured Gandhāra. Thus began the disintegration.

Both were followed by Sapedanes and Satavastra in Arachosia and Pushkalāvati. Taxila came under Athama. Gandhāra went to Wema kadphises and Arachosia to an unknown king whose coins appear in Punjab, Gandhāra and in Kābul valley.

Abdagases was followed by Pakores in Drangiana while Sanabares succeeded Sapedanes and Satavastra. The latter event is proved by a unique coin¹ of Sanabares in the British Museum. This coin shows Greek inscription on both the sides and was thus, probably, the last issue in Arachosia. Since over-strikes of Pakores² on Soter Megas and of Soter Megas³ on Wema Kadphises are known, it would be natural to presume them roughly contemporary.

Sanabares ruled over Sakastana alone. His coins⁴ in silver and bronze are known. His coins⁵ bear the type of Sanabares II (Bearded bust : seated Archer) but are different in the depiction revealing short or even

1. *CCGSK.*, pl. XXIII, 12.
2. Mukherjee, B.N., *op.cit.*, p. 242, 43.
3. *East and West*, 1957, VIII, p. 53, pl. III, No. 1.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 50, pl. IV, 13, 16 (only Greek inscription), NS., XIV, 1910, pl. XXXIV, no. 17 (only Kharoṣṭhī inscription).
5. *East and West*, p. 50, pl. IV, no., 24-28.

beardless bust thick representation of the archer who sits on a two pronged stool and the addition of Indo-Parthian Symbol in front.

Salient Features

The salient features of the Coins under study are:

Shape: Both square and round forms of the Coins have been noticed. In rare cases rectangular¹ and cupshaped² forms have also been recorded.

Metal : Barring a solitary instance of Athama in gold³ all other coins are in silver, billon or copper.

Obverse Devices: A majority of the Indo-Scythian and some of the Pahlava coins, present king riding on a horse-back as the obverse device. Only in one instance in the Scythians the king appears as seated while the bust⁴ of the king in Parthian style is recorded on a couple of Indo-Parthian coins. Besides the king, the deities, animals or symbols have been used as obverse devices. The deities include Zeus, Artemis, Appollo, Poseidon, Herakles and Demeter. Amongst the animals, the bull, lion and elephant are recognisable.

1. Cunningham, A., *The Coins of the Sakas*, pl. VIII, no. 5, 7; *NC.*, XIV, no. 254, 357.
2. Smith, V.A., *Numismatic Notes & Novelties. JASB, PMC.*, I, p. 131, vii; *Ibid*, pl. XVI, no. 125 (Hyrcores).
3. *PMC.*, I, pl. XIV, no. 399.
4. *Ibid*, pl. XV, no. 59 (Gondophares); *CCQSK*, pl. XXII, no. 13 (Pakores)

All these are found encircled by a border of reefs and pellets¹ or of dots.² On square coins the pattern of the border becomes squarish.³ The king, usually mounted⁴, is seen armed with whip or spear to the right. At times sword or bow have also been recorded. The bearded royal bust of Arsakid type⁵ is also worth notice.

Reverse Devices

The reverse is normally occupied by a deity or animal or symbol. Amongst the deities Nike, Zeus, Bacchante, Herakles, Pallas, Poseidon, Hermes and Demeter are recorded. The animals include bull, lion and camel. Caduceus, shield, bow etc. include the symbols.

Inscriptions

Excluding a few exceptions, the coins appear in bilingual legends, i.e. obverse Greek and reverse Kharoṣṭhī. Single or even composite Kharoṣṭhī letters also figure on both the sides. The legends reveal besides the name of the king, the regal titles, which read 'Basileios Basileon' etc. in Greek and 'Mahārajas raja rajas' in Kharoṣṭhī. On the coins of Maues the Greek letters used are round in form. On those of Azes, Azilises and Spalirises, square omicron and round omega appear.

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1. *PMC.*, I pl. XVI, 94 (Soter Megas); pl. XVI, 115 (Heraos); pl. XVI, 129 (Phseigacharis); pl. X, 5 (Maues).
2. *Ibid.*, pl. XVI, 101 (Soter Megas); pl. XVI, 116 (Heraos).
3. *Ibid.*, pl. XIV, 353 (Azilises); pl. XIV, 386 (Spalyris with Spalagadama); pl. XII, 256 (Azes); pl. X, 32 (Maues). At times, it is dotted only (pl. XIV, 353 Azilises); pl. XVII., V (Arsakes Theos).
4. *Ibid.*, pl. XV, 35, 430, 60.
5. *Ibid.*, pl. XVII, i.

The coins of Gondophares and Abdagases on the other hand present both square omicron and cursive omega. This all, according to Gardner¹ would suggest the period of B.C. 50 to A.D. 50, to all these kings.

Mints: On the basis of types and monograms on the coins found from a particular region, scholars have tried to locate the places of their manufacture. It is held that three mints one in Arachosia another at Pushkalāvati and the third at Taxila functioned during the time of the Śakas. The salient features of each are:

(i) *Arachosia*: The issues of the Arachosia mint, usually, show a peculiar style² of horse which is recognisable on the silver coins of 'Mounted king holding a spear' type. Recently Jenkins,³ on the basis of the similarities in the monograms of the Pallas group of coins of Azes I and II with that of the Vonones group, has tried to associate the 'Pallas reverse' type of coins with the issues of this mint.⁴

Since it is generally accepted that the kings of Vonones group had ruled over this region the types issued by them have also been incorporated as the issues of this mint.

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- (1) *CCGSK*, intro. xlv. Rapson, however, held 40 B. C. as the date of the coins showing square forms (*CHI*, I, p. 57) while Bachhofer is inclined to give a date later than 40 B.C. of the square forms of sigma and omicron. He suggests that the square omega indicates a period between A.D. 10 and 40. (*JAOS*, XLI p. 233).
- (2) *JNSI*, XVII, pt. II, p. 2.
- (3) *Ibid*, p. 7. Marshall, however, has assigned the series as minted at Taxila (*Taxila*, p. 781) while Tarn has (*Greeks in Bactria and India*, p. 326) tried to place them at Alexandria Bucephala on the Jhelum to the east of Taxila.
- (4) Simonetta also supports this view (*East and West*, VIII, p. 63) but is sceptical about all of them.

(ii) *Taxila*: Another Indo-Scythic mint was Taxila. Almost all the kings of the Śakas have issued coins from this place. Some of its characteristic features, usually, discernible are:

1. The majority of these reveal 'Mounted king with whip' type.
2. The Greek legends use round forms of Greek letters.
3. The exergue line, when shown, is rendered with a row of dots.
4. A Greek monogram occurs on the obverse and a Nandipada on the reverse. The Greek monogram looks¹ like No. 44 in a majority of the instances.

(iii) *Kapiśā*: Yet another mint of the Śakas was in Kapiśā. The only coins ascribed to it are of king Maues² showing 'Zeus enthroned type' copied from the Hermaios coins. Subsequently, as Jenkins³ has shown, the area, probably, came out of the control of the Azes group of kings as all the hoards found in the area reveal coins of Indo-Greek kings up to Hermaios. Even the coins of Appollodotus II and Hippostratus are conspicuous by their absence.

With the Parthians also these mints continued besides a few more. One such was established in area to the east of Jhelum.⁴ Another was in the Mathura region.⁵ 'Abhiśekha of Lakshmi' was a common type of the latter mint.

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- (1) *PMC.*, I, Monogram No. 18, 37.
- (2) Marshall, *Taxila*, p. 778.
- (3) *JNSI.*, XVII, pt. II, p. 20. Masson, no doubt, had found some Azes coins from Begram and White-head could point out the presence of a Mt. Pilusara symbol on the coins of Azilises (*NC.*, 1950, p. 210).
- (4) The coins of Gondophares showing 'Bust : Pallas' are assigned to this mint (*PMC.*, I, pl. XIV, no. 39).
- (5) *PMC.*, I, pl. XV, no. 61.

Monograms

The Scythian and the Parthian kings have used monograms on their coins. What exactly these connoted is difficult to say but it has been noticed that very often a particular set of monograms figure on the coins found from a particular place. These figure, usually, on the reverse but monograms on the obverse are not uncommon. Very often, Kharoṣṭhī letters occur either independently or in association with the monograms. Some of the monograms of the Indo-Greek coins have figured on these coins as well.

Weight Standard

The Scythians and the Parthians have adopted the weight standard of their immediate predecessors for the coins. They issued a large number of silver didrachmas and hemidrachmas of the same weight as those of the successors of Eucratides. According to Cunningham¹, the average weight of a didrachma was 148 grains while that of a hemidrachma 37 grains. The gold money of the Śakas, however, is not known leaving aside the coin of Athama.

Special Issues

Besides normal coinage the Scythian kings have issued some problematic types the explanations of which are not known for certain. Some of these were:

Vonones and Spalahora and Vonones with Spalagadama

A series of coins² reveals the names of Vonones, Spalahora and Spalagadama. Class one bears the name of 'Onones, the great, the king of kings' on the obverse and 'Spalahora the just, the brother of the great king' on the reverse and is available in silver and copper. Class B, similarly, reveals 'Onones the great, the king of kings' on the obverse and

- (1) Cunningham, A., *Coins of the Indo Scythians*, p. 18-20.
- (2) For types and legends of the coins, see A.K. Narain & G.K. Jenkins, *Coin types of the Śaka Pahlava kings of India*, pp. 3-5.

Špalagadama, the just 'son of Spalahora' on the reverse. The type in silver on both is 'Mounted king with a couched spear' on the obverse and 'Zeus with sceptre and thunderbolt' on the reverse. The type in copper, on the two, shows 'Herakles crowning himself' on the obverse and 'Pallas with shield and spear' on the reverse.

Since the name of Vonones appears in Greek characters on both the types according to the regular Parthian formula, it is commonly believed that he was the reigning suzerain. The one Spalahora referred in Kharoṣṭhī is described as *Mahr̥r̥jabhrātā* while Spalagadama is said as *Spalahora-putrasa*. This all, when taken together, would mean that Vonones was ruling at Arachosia with his brother Spalahora as his viceroy. Probably, Spalahora died during the life time of Vonones and was, therefore, succeeded by his son Spalagadama in the same capacity.

Spalyris, Spalirises and Spalagadama

A set¹ of coins in copper speaks of 'Špalyris, the just, the brother of the king' on one side and 'Spalagadama, the just, the son of Spalahora' on the other. Another set of coins in silver reveals 'Špalirises, the brother of the king' on the obverse and 'Špalirīša the just, the brother of the great king' on the reverse. Yet another, of which copper specimens only are known, points the name of 'Špalirīses the great, the king of kings', on the obverse and that of 'Špalirīša, the great, the great king' on the reverse.

It was, usually, held that Špalyris and Špalirīses were the names of one king as the word Špalyris was the nominative singular form the stem of the expression Špalirīses. But the view is now no more acceptable for there

(1) For types see A.K. Narain and G.K. Jenkins, *Coin-types of the Śaka Pahlava kings of India*, pp. 3-5.

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is the evidence¹ of over-striking a coin of Špalyris and Špalagadama with a type of Špalirišes. Whose brother the king Špalirišes was is another point. There is a section of scholars like Tarn² who held that the expression 'brother of the king' was merely a title and not an indication of any blood relationship because the type 'King walking : Zeus enthroned' of Špalirišes is found over-struck on a coin-type of Vonones and Špalahora. Simonetta³ goes an extent further and remarks that 'Špalyris and Špalirišes were vassals of Šaka King Maues and not Vonones.'

Both these points have now been challenged. Dr. Mukherjee⁴ holds that 'the fact that a type of Špalirišes was struck over a device of Vonones and Špalahora does not necessarily indicate them as enemies. The Hūna King Mihira-Kula re-struck some coins of Tormana, his father. Špalirišes could well have been a brother of Vonones'. As regards the second point it is felt that the authority of Maues over Arachosia is yet to be conclusively established. There is also a possibility as Dr. Mukherjee⁵ has shown that the alleged Arachosian type of his coins were the 'outcome of the trade and commerce' in between them. Probably therefore, while Vonones was ruling with Špalahora and Špalagadama as his viceroys, Špalirišes had issued coins as a brother of a king. Later, after the death of Vonones, Špalirišes became the king and issued coins with Špalagadama as his viceroy. The suggestion is also strengthened by the palaeographic data. We find square form of omicron on the series Špalirišes and Špalagadames which would mean that these were not issued far away in matter of time and had probably, followed the series of Vonones.

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- (1) *The Scythian Period*, p. 347.
 - (2) Tarn, W. W., *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, p. 315.
 - (3) *East and West*, 1957, VIII, p. 46.
 - (4) Mukherjee, B.N., *op-cit*, p. 123 fn. 146.
 - (5) *I bid.* p. 200.



Spalirises with Azes

The series of coins¹ bearing the names of Špalirišes on the obverse and Ayasa on the reverse have been found in silver and copper. The type in silver bears 'Mounted horseman with spear: Zeus holding a thunder-bolt', while the copper shows 'Mounted horseman: bow and arrow.' The legend on the obverse shows 'Špalirišes, the great, the king' in Greek and 'Aya, the great, the great king' in Kharoṣṭhi on the reverse.

The use of Doric sigma in the initial letter alone of the king's name at such an early date as well as the apparently equal status of the joint rulers as proved by the legends is of some importance. We know it for certain that Špalirišes and Azes belonged to two different branches. The former ruled to the west of Indus while the latter controlled the Punjab area. The circumstances in which Špalirišes co-opted Azes in administration are not known but these coins bear a definite evidence that Špalirišes was the last known member of Vonones group and that it was in his time that the two houses came together.

But who this Azes was is another riddle. Rapson² identified him as Azes II while Marshall³ took him as Azes I. The internal evidence of coins support the latter. We know that a type⁴ of Azilises is overstruck on a type of Špalirišes and again the die of an issue of Azilises⁵ is found struck on a type of Azes. This evidence is enough to infer that the king Azes in question has reigned before Azilises and not after him. The supposition is

- (1) *NC.*, 1890, pp. 107 & 139.
- (2) *CHI.*, I, p. 573.
- (3) *Taxila*, I, pp. 49, 50.
- (4) *JNSI.*, 1955, XVII, pt. II, p. 3.
- (5) Narain, A.K., and Jenkins, G.K., *The Coin-types of the Śaka Pahlava Kings of India*. No. 4, pp. 515.

further strengthened by the form of Zeus on the coins of Azes which surprisingly is identical with the issues of Vonones and Spalahora, Vonones and Spalagadames and Špalirīses who had definitely ruled over Arachosia and not with those of the Arachosian issues of Azilises. In case, if the king under review has been Azes II who had reigned after Azilises, the depiction of Zeus should also have resembled with the latter's Arachosian coins. Thus Aya of Špalirīses / Aya coins was not Azes II who did not rule before Azilises.

Azes & Azilises¹ & Azilises & Azes

The series¹ of coins bearing Azes and Azilises and viceversa are available in silver and copper. The types reveal 'Mounted king with whip : Pallas or Zeus' and 'Herakles : horse' in silver and copper respectively. The Greek legend on the former reads 'Basileos Megaloi Azoi' while in the latter is 'Basileos Basileon Megaloi Azilises' the Kharoṣṭhī legend similarly, reads 'Maharajasa raja rajasa Mahatasa Ayilishasa and Maharajasa raja rajasa Mahatasa Ayasa' respectively. Besides these, both the kings have issued their independent types as well.

Dr. Bhandarkar, V.A. Smith and Simonetta² hold that there were two kings i.e. Azes I and Azes II. The implication would be that prior to his accession to the throne Azilises served as a viceroy to Azes I and similarly Azes served as junior to Azilises.

Whitehead and Sten Konow³ do not agree with it. They explain the variation due to their being issued in various parts of his empire.

- (1) Narain, A.K. and Jenkins, G.K., *op. cit.*, pp. 5-15.
- (2) Smith, V.A., *CCIM.*, I, pp. 43f; Bhandarkar, D.R., *JBBRAS.*, 1897-1900, XX, p. 284. Simonetta, A. *East and West*, 1958, IX, pp. 67-68.
- (3) *PMC.*, I, p. 93; *CII.*, II, intro., p. xl. Subsequently he held a different view (*JIH.*, 1933, XII, p. 24).

Thomas¹ also supported Konow initially but having observed the number of coins was inclined to support Bhandarkar.

The view of Bhandarkar and Smith finds support by the internal evidence of coins as well as from other archaeological material. A close scrutiny of 'Mounted horseman : Zeus Nikephoros' type of Azes coins suggests two distinct groups i.e. one 'Mounted king holding couched lance, well executed Greek legend and pure bright metal and the other 'Mounted king with whip, corrupt Greek legend and of debased metal.' The coins with legend Azes in Greek show king holding a couched lance while those revealing Azilises present king holding a whip.

Again, as Jenkins² has shown, a type of Azilises is over-struck, on a coin of Azes having the device 'King on horseback holding a spear' on the obverse making thereby the existence of an Azes before Azilises. Secondly, since there is no debasement in the metal of Azilises' coinage, the debased issues showing 'King on horseback with whip of Azes would become issues of an Azes who had ruled after Azilises. Yet another point³ is the different forms of letter Śā in the legend. The coins of earlier group had an earlier variety of dental Śā in Kharoṣṭhī while those of the latter reveal a form that was adopted in the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions of the Kuṣāṇa period. Lastly, during the course of excavations of Sirkup, Marshall⁴ noticed that the coins attributed to Azes I i.e. 'Mounted kings holding lance' were unearthed almost invariably from strata lower than those ascribed to Azes II. More so this latter type was even copied⁵ by Azilises for one of his coin types in copper.

- (1) *JRAS.*, 1906. p. 208. Similar is the view of Lohuizen (*The Scythian Period*, pp. 347-349).
- (2) *JAS.* 1955, XVII, pt. II pp. 1-3.
- (3) *ASLAR.*, 1928-29, pp. 169-74; *JRAS.*, 1914, p. 979.
- (4) *Taxila*, I, p. 131.
- (5) *PMC.*, I, pl. XIV, no. 358.

Azes with Aspavarma & Gondophares with Aspavarma

Two sets of coins reveal one Aśpavarma associated with Azes and Gondophares I. These are: (1) 'Mounted king: Pallas with name of Aśpavarma. The Greek inscription on the obverse reads 'Basileos Basileon Megaloy Azoi' while the Kharoṣṭhī inscription reads 'Indravarma putrasa Aśpavarmasa strategasa Jayatasa' on the reverse'. (2) 'Mounted king: standing Zeus with name of Aśpavarma'. Corrupt Greek legend on the obverse reads 'Basileos Basileon Megaloy Yendephoroī' when complete. The Prākṛt inscription reads 'Jayatasa tratarasa Indravarma putrasa strategasa Aśpavarmasa'.

The above mentioned series of coins when studied together with those of Azes³ bearing: 'Mounted king with whip: Pallas' and reading on the reverse 'Vijaya mitra putrasa ----- Sasa Maharajasa' make the history of the family of Aśpavarma clear.

Scholars have tried to identify Itra-varma and Indravarma as the name of one person. If once it is accepted it would become evident that the first person, in the family of Aśpavarma, to serve Azes II was Itra-varma whose father was Vijayamitra. Later on Aśpavarma had replaced him. After Azes II was overpowered by Gondophares, Aśpavarma had also transferred his allegiance to him which has resulted in the issue of the type 'Mounted king: standing Zeus' with the name of Aśpavarma. The latter king (Gondophares) was, however, served by Aśpavarma alone and not by Indravarma who had served Azes II.

A relic casket Inscription⁴ from Bajaur reveals the name of Apracharaja Vijayamitra. If the above mentioned king is identical with the one

- (1) *PMC.*, I, p. 130; *JNSI.*, 1955, XVII, pt. II, pp. 5-8.
- (2) *PMC.*, I, p. 150.
- (3) *NC.*, 1890, pl. XII, no., 8.
- (4) *EL.*, XXIV, p. 7.

given in the coins under review, as the scholars¹ have tried to show, the mint of these coin can be located in or near the area.

Orthagnes and Gondophares and Gaḍana

Three sets of copper coins refer to Orthagnes, Gondophares and Gaḍana. The first² type bears 'bust of king : Nike' with names of Gondophares and Gaḍa on the reverse and 'Orthagnes, the king, the great king' on the obverse, the second³ resembles with the first but the reverse this time reads only '*Rajaṣa Mahataṣa Gudrana*' and the third reveals 'Mounted king: Zeus' type and reads 'Gondophares, the king, the great king', on the obverse and 'Maharaja Gaḍa the Victorious General' on the reverse.

All these three, when put together, reveal that Gaḍa or Gaḍana was a general of Gondophares I and so a junior to him in the administration. The supposition is further strengthened by the fact that on the reverse of type one, the titles *Mahārāja rajati rāja* and *Mahata* appear in genitive singular and therefore can qualify to only one person who may be Gondophares I⁴ whose name appears immediately after the titles. Another fact which becomes apparent is that when this class of coins was minted Gondophares I was associated with the administration of Orthagnes and Gaḍa was his junior associate. In class second, the name of Gondophares is missing. Therefore, it would be natural to presume that Gondophares I was dissociated from the administration of Arachosia within the life time

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- (1) Mukherjee, B.N. *op. cit.*, p. 88.
- (2) *PMC.*, I, p. 155, pl. xvi, no. 72.
- (3) *Ibid.*, p. 156, no. 75.
- (4) *NC.*, 1950, pp. 223, 225.
- (5) Sten Konow (*CII*, pt. I, p. xlv) and Lohuizen (*The Scythian Period*, p. 360) took the name of Orthagnes and Gondophares as the name of one and the same person. This suggestion has no truth in itself as we know separate series of coins of both these kings.

of Orthagnes. But this was probably a temporary break because there are two sets of Arachosia and Seistan types¹ referring to Gondophares I as an independent king. Whether these were the results of his peaceful succession from Orthagnes or he had conquered them from him or his successor is not definitely known. One thing is, however, evident that the independent career of Gondophares in India was at least partly contemporary with the rule of Orthagnes in Arachosia because there is not much interval in the issue of these types. The last group of coins indicate that Gaḍana transferred his allegiance from Orthagnes to Gondophares I.

However, there is a section of scholars like Fleet² and Konow³ who interpret Gaḍa as denoting the tribe to which Gondophares I belonged. Whitehead⁴ suggested a different explanation by taking it a personal name which fitted very easily with a reference to one Gaḍa found in an intaglio⁵ bearing Kharoṣṭhī word Gaḍasa.

Who was this Gudphar is another point. Whether he was Gondophares I whose general was Gaḍa, or Gondophares II whose coins resemble very much in weight, metal and provenance with those of Sanabares,⁶ is difficult to say in the present state of our knowledge.

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(1) *CCGSK.*, pl. XXII, no. II ; pl. XXXII, no. 10.

(2) *PMC.*, I, p. 155, fn. I.

(3) *CH.*, pt. I ; p. xlvi.

(4) *PMC.*, I, p. 155, fn. I.

(5) *ASIAR*, 1902-03, p. 167

(6) *NC.*, 1955, pp. 140 and 143. Certain bronze coins bearing the Gondopharian symbol as well as 'regal bust' and 'King seated as archer' have Pahlavi legend referring to Vindaph(ar) (*East and West*, 1957, VIII, p. 50, pl. IV, no. 24-28.) The word Vindapahar has been taken as another version of the Gondophar(es) by scholars (*CH.*, pt. I, p. xlv). If the resemblance of this type is accepted with that of Sanabares, Vindaphar in question would be different from Gondophares I and may become Gondophares II as Dr. B.N. Mukherjee has taken him to be (*op. cit.*, p. 143).

Coins of one Nameless king

A series of coins in three subvarieties¹ has been associated with a nameless king calling himself 'the king of king, the great saviour'. These, all are in copper and bear a three-pronged symbol. At times Kharoṣṭhī letter *VI* appears in exergue. Cunningham² took it to be the initial of the king's name. Rogers³ found even three extra *aksaras*. On a British Museum specimen, Whithead⁴ reads *lar* and *Śa*. These all signify whether a name an epithet or a monetary denomination is difficult to say. His coins are found over an area, according to Whitehead⁵ 'From Peshawar to Mathura'. Macdowall found these coins as far as Benaras and Ghazipur and in north of Hindukush; in southern Russia as far as Balkh, Termez and Samarkand.

Whether all these are the coins of one king has been a matter of controversy. Cunningham⁶ held all these as issues of one king while Whitehead⁷ sees the possibility of these coins being the issues of more than one king from different localities. The matter is still open for discussion and the last word is yet to be pronounced.

- (1) These are (i) with Greek legend only (ii) with Greek and Kharoṣṭhī legend and (iii) without any inscription.
- (2) Cunningham, A., *Coins of the Śakas*, p. 13. The syllable *VI* would thus stand for the initial of Vima or Vikramaditya.
- (3) *PMC.*, I, p. 161 fn.
- (4) *JRAS.*, July 1913, p. 677.
- (5) *PMC.*, I, p. 160 fn. According to Cunningham (*op. cit.*, p. 13) 'His coins are exceedingly common all over the Punjab, as well as in Kandahār, and in the Kabul-Valley and are found as far eastward as Mathura'.
- (6) Cunningham, A., *op. cit.*, p. 13.
- (7) *PMC.*, I, p. 161, fn. 'It is possible that these coins were struck by more than one ruler, and that the different types issued from distinct localities. Such rulers might have been subordinate to a single suzerain'.

Gods and Goddesses

The coins also present a galaxy of gods and goddesses. These include some Greek divinities. Some others are composite in character or are purely Indian.

Many of these deities were adopted initially as a coin device by the Greek kings. The Śakas, no doubt, retained them but were given new orientation which transformed their original character. Gardner¹ noticed some of these changes when he remarked: "A careful consideration of these facts will convince us that by some means Maues and his race secured the services of artists who had been instructed by Greek tradition. The Parthians, though, continued with the tide but preferred to use only those which were pre-eminently Parthian." The following deities are commonly recorded on these coins.

(i) Apollo

The sun God Apollo is noticed as a tall beardless youngman of a handsome shape. His characteristic attributes were the bow and arrow. On the coins of Maues² (fig. 1) and Gondophares, the deity appears as holding arrow in one of his hands.

(ii) Artemis

Born of Zeus and Lato, Artemis was recognised as the deity of woman folk. The coins of Maues exhibit (fig. 2) the deity with floating veil over her head.

(iii) Bacchante

He was the God of luxuriant fertility especially as displayed by the

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(1) *CGSK.*, p. LVIII, intro.

(2) *PMC.*, I. pl. X, no. 18; *Ibid.*, p. 153, unrep. iii.

(3) *Ibid.*, pl. X, no. 10.

vine. He was born of Zeus and Semele the daughter of Cadmus. The coins of Maues¹ (fig. 3) and Azes portray him as standing to front in between the vine trees.

(iv) Dioskouri

The two sons-Caster and Pollux of Zeus are known together as Dioskouri. They represented the tutelary gods of war-like youth, often, sharing in their contests and honoured as the inventors of military dances and melodies. They are generally portrayed with their horses Xanthus and Cyllarus. Their emblem is an oval helmet crowned with a star. They hold a levelled spear and a palm leaf.

Dioskouri was a favourite deity with Azilises on whose coins his various forms are found. In one,² the deity appears (fig. 5) as mounted holding palm-leaves and levelled spears. The star on the top of their bonnet figures distinctively. In the second³, the two deities stand side by side. In the last,⁴ only a single figure of the deity is visible. The deity stands with spear in the right hand while the left rests over the hilt of the sword.

(v) Demeter

Demeter, the daughter of Cornus and Rhea, stood for the goddess of corn and agriculture. Her attributes are *ears of corn* and *cornucopiae*. The coins of Azes present her in both seated⁵ (fig. 4) as well as in standing⁶ postures. In all, her attribute *cornucopiae* appears resting in her hand.

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- (1) PMC., I, pl. X, 20; p. 122, no. 241.
- (2) *Ibid*, pl. XIII, no. 323.
- (3) *Ibid* I., pl. XIII, no. 327.
- (4) *Ibid*, pl. XIII, no. 329.
- (5) *Ibid*, pl. XII, no. 217.
- (6) *Ibid*, pl. XII, no. 218.

(vi) Herakles

Born in Thebes, Herakles was the son of Zeus and Alcmene. He was worshipped as an Olympian deity. He figures as the ideal of manly vigour with well-knit limbs, serious expression, a curly beard, short neck and a head small in proportion to the limbs.

On the Indo-Scythian coins, Herakles appears in standing¹ (fig. 6) as well as in seated² posture. The weapons in his hands in the former include club, lion's skin and diadem. At times, the deity is seen crowning³ himself (fig. 7) with the wreath. The club, in the majority of the standing figures, appears as resting⁴ upright over his shoulder (fig. 6) or is resting over the arm of the deity. Only in one instance, it rests on the ground⁵ (pl. VII, no. 7). In the seated posture, the club rests (fig. 8) over the knee.⁶

(vii) Hephaistos

He was the son of Zeus and Tera and denoted the God of fire and of Arts which need fire in the execution. He appears as a vigorous bearded man holding tongs and hammer. On the coins⁷ of Azes and Azilises, the deity is seen (fig. 9) standing to front with a sceptre in the right and tongs and hammer in the left hand.

(viii) Hermes

He was the son of Zeus and of Mai- the daughter of Atlas and is

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- (1) *PMC*, I, pl. XII, no. 254 (Azes); pl. XVI, no. 129 (Phseigacharis) pl. XVI, no. 138.
- (2) *Ibid*, pl. XII, no. 255 (Azes); pl. XIV, no. 353; pl. XIV, no. 386.
- (3) *Ibid*, pl. XIV, no. 379.
- (4) *Ibid*, pl. XIV, no. 379 (Vonones with Spalahores); *Ibid*, pl. XII, no. 254 (Azes).
- (5) *Ibid*, pl. XVI, no. 129 (Phseigacharis).
- (6) *Ibid*, pl. XIV, no. 386 (Spalyris with Spalagadames).
- (7) *Ibid*, p. 130, no. 309 (Azes); pl. XIV, no. 369 (Azilises).

described as the sacrificial herald of the Gods. He is portrayed as a strong bearded man indicative of intellect and goodwill. His attributes include wings on his feet, a flat broad brimmed hat and a staff.

Hermes is found represented in two forms on the coins of Azes. In one¹ (fig. 10) the deity walks (Acc. No. 26026) to left with right arm outstretched while in the other², the deity (Acc. No. 26029) stands holding Caduceus in the left hand.

(ix) Nike

According to Hesiod, Nike the daughter of Pallas and Styx was the Greek goddess of Victory. She is, generally, represented as winged holding wreath and palm-branch.

In the context, the deity has variously been portrayed. She stands independently holding palm and wreath (fig. 11) on the coins of Maues, Azes³ etc. At times, she is associated with Zeus⁴ and is seen over his extended hand. Her other representations include the bestowal of the wreath of Victory to the king.⁵ In a variation,⁶ the wreath is carried by the king and the deity is following him.

(x) Pallas

The Roman goddess Minerva, the daughter of Zeus, known in Greek

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(1) *PMC.*, XI, no. 195

(2) *Ibid.*, pl. XII, no. 218.

(3) *Ibid.*, pl. X, nos. 1,3,27 (Maues); pl. XI, no. 187 (Azes); pl. XV, 59 (Gondophares); pl. XV, no. 64 (Abdagases); pl. XVI, no. 72 (Orthagnes); pl. XVI, no. 76 (Pakores).

(4) *Ibid.*, pl. X, no. 4 (Maues); pl. XI, no. 56 (Azes); pl. XIII, no. 323 (Azilises); pl. XV, no. 20 (Gondophares).

(5) *Ibid.*, pl. XV, no. 60 (Gondophares).

(6) *Ibid.*, pl. XV, no. 43 (Gondophares); XVI, no. 115 (Heraos).

as Pallas or Athene. She is personified as the goddess of war. Her portraiture reveals a countenance full of masculine firmness. She wears a helmet whose large plume nods in the air. Her distinctive attributes were shield and spear. Her another form of worship was that of the deity of sky. Like Zeus, she was the mistress of thunder and lightening. Here, she carries the aegis with gorgon's head, the symbol of tempest and terror in one hand and with the other she hurls a thunderbolt. On the coins of Azes¹ the deity stands with right arm outstretched and holds a trident in the left hand.

On a variety of coins² of Azes, the goddess appears as wearing a long robe falling down to the feet. She wears a helmet (fig. 12) and holds aegis and thunderbolt. On some other coins she is depicted as the goddess of war. Here, she holds³ (fig. 13) shield and spear as her weapons. In rare instances⁴, the deity appears as crowning herself (Pl. IV, no. 11). In a few others⁵, her one arm is seen outstretched or is hanging⁶ at her side.

(xi) Poseidon

He represented the god of earthquakes and of water and was known as Neptune among the Romans. He was born of Cornus and Rhea. His marked attribute is trident and is seen as a powerful kingly man with thicker and curlier hair on his head.

On a variety⁷ of coins of Maues, the deity appears (fig. 14) as standing

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- (1) *PMC.*, I, pl. XI, no. 177.
- (2) *Ibid.*, pl. XI, no. 127 (Azes); pl. XIII, no. 331 (Azilises).
- (3) *Ibid.*, pl. XI, no. 157 (Azes); pl. XV, no. 38 (Gondophares).
- (4) *Ibid.*, pl. XI, no. 172 (Azes).
- (5) *Ibid.*, pl. XI, no. 166.
- (6) *Ibid.*, pl. X, no. 20 (Maues).
- (7) *Ibid.*, p. 101, no. 23 (Maues).

holding a trident. The right foot of the deity rests on a small radiate figure. On another,¹ all other things remain as before except that the deity hurls thunderbolt at a small radiate figure. In yet another², the small figure clings with the aplustre or the deity holds a palm branch in the left hand and hurls thunderbolt with the right hand.

(xii) Tyche

She was the goddess of fertility, faundity and abundance. In the context, the deity figures in more than one posture. On a variety of the coins³ of Maues, the deity appears (fig. 15) as standing wearing a turreted crown holding in right hand patera containing offerings. The right hand rests on a wheel. On another⁴ the deity holds a long sceptre in left hand and a veil is held out in the right hand.

(xiii) Zeus

He was the supreme god in Greek mythology. He was the son of Cronus and Rhea. His different forms appear on these coins. In one⁵, he is seen as the patron of family and community life and appears (fig. 16) as standing holding a staff or sceptre on the coins of Maues and Azes. The position of the weapon remains fluctuating. In one⁶, it remained straight in the left hand. In another⁷, it is held transversely. In yet another⁸, the deity leans over the sceptre (pl. II, no. 4). In all these instances he

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- (1) *PMC.*, pl. XI, no. 177. (Azes).
- (2) *Ibid.*, p. 101, no. 24. (Maues).
- (3) *CCGSK.*, pl. XVI, no. 3.
- (4) *Ibid.*, pl. XVI, no. 9.
- (5) *PMC.*, I, pl. X, no. 1 (Maues); pl. XI, no. 36 (Azes).
- (6) *Ibid.*, pl. XV, no. 35 (Gondophares).
- (7) *Ibid.*, pl. X, no. 3 (Maues).
- (8) *Ibid.*, pl. XIV, no. 374 (Vonones with Spalahora),
pl. XIV, no. 382 (Vonones with spalagadames); pl. XIV,
no. 394 (Spalirises); pl. XIV, no. 395 (Spalirises with Azes).

appears as an old and elderly member of the society. In his another form¹ he appears as the bestower of victory. Here, we find (fig. 17) Nike the deity of Victory, over his extended hand. At times the deity is seen either holding (pl. II, no. 7) or hurling a thunderbolt (fig. 18).

At times, the deity is noticed even in the seated posture. He sits² on a throne (fig. 19) holding a sceptre in the left hand. The right hand is seen extended. As a divinity granting Victory, Nike rests on his extended hand. On some other coins,³ the type remains as before except that the fore-part of an elephant is also added to the design.

(xiv) City deities

Some tutelary deities associated with the Greeks have also been portrayed on these coins. A few were :—

(a) A male figure holding club in right hand is seen on the coins of Maues⁴ (fig. 20). His chlamys flies behind. (b) A female deity appears (fig. 21) as holding palm in left hand and flames in the right hand on a coin type of Azes.⁵ (c) Zeus⁶ appears as standing with a city (fig. 22) who according to Rapson⁷ could be taken as the city-deity of Pushkalāvati. Here, Zeus carried a long sceptre in left hand and points to right with outstretched left arm. Goddess wears a mural crown and holds diadem in her left hand. (d) A deity⁸ (fig. 23) figures as wearing a mural crown holding

(1) *PMC.*, pl. X, no. 4 (Maues); pl. XI, no. 56 (Azes); pl. XIII, no. 323 (Azilises), pl. XV, no. 20 (Gondophares), pl. XV, no. 64 (Abdagases).

(2) *Ibid.* I, pl. X no. 15 (Maues); pl. XIII, no. 325 (Azilises), pl. XIV, no. 397 (Spalirises).

(3) *Ibid.* p. 103, un-rep. type, v (Maues).

(4) *CCGSK.*, pl. XVII, no. 3 (Maues).

(5) *PMC.*, I, pl. XI, no. 179.

(6) *Ibid.*, pl. XIII, no. 334.

(7) *Notes on Indian Coins and Seals*, pl. VI.

(8) *PMC.*, I, pl. XIII, no. 336 (Azilises.) On the coins of Zeionises, the city-deity crowns the king (*Ibid.*, pl. XVI, no. 82).

a diadem in right hand. On her left shoulder rests a shield and a palm.

Hindu Divinities

The Hindu gods and goddesses included in the context were Śiva and Lakshmī.

(i) Siva

Śiva figures on the coins of Parthian kings Gondophares and a Nameless king. On the former,¹ the deity stands (fig. 24) with trident in the right and palm branch in the left hand. On the latter,² the deity appears as nude and holds a sceptre instead of a trident.

(ii) Lakshmi

Two forms of Lakshmī, the goddess of wealth and prosperity, appear on the coins of the period. On one,³ she stands on a lotus flower having twin stalks and leaves. While the other⁴ reveals her (fig. 25) standing on a lotus flower having twin stalks and leaves together with the figures of two elephants sprinkling water over her.

Animals

Many a time the deities have been replaced by animals. These included the horse, bull, elephant, camel, lion and yak. Usually, full figure in various poses is found but instances have also been recorded in which only fore-part of an animal is noticed. The elephant's fore-part (pl. I, no. 7) and that of a horse (pl. VII, no. 9) appear on the coins of Maues and Hyrcodes respectively.

- (1) *PMC.*, I, pl. XV, no. 43 (Gondophares).
- (2) *Ibid*, pl. XVI, no. 113, p. 163 (Soter Megas).
- (3) *Ibid*, pl. XII, no. 303 (Azes).
- (4) *Ibid*, pl. XIII, no. 332 (Azilises).

The horse appears¹ in standing (pl. VII, no. 3), walking (pl. IV, no. 4), galloping (pl. VI, no. 10) and trotting (pl. VII, no. 10) postures. The elephant² is found in standing (pl. III, no. 10) and running position (pl. II, no. 2). Both these animals were adequately maintained. Bells around the neck of elephants (pl. I, no. 7) and the bridle³ (pl. VII, no. 9) and saddle of the horse are visible (pl. II, no. 10; pl. VI, no. 10). It was, perhaps, an honour to excel in the art of controlling the horses. The Scythian kings appear as mounted on a horseback and hold a whip in one of the hand while charging with a couched lance. Bull⁴ appears as walking (pl. V, no. 2) or standing (pl. I, no. 4) but is always humped. Lion⁵ is also portrayed as standing (pl. V, no. 3) and galloping (pl. IV, no. 9). Camel⁶ appears as double humped (pl. V, no. 4). Lastly comes the yak⁷ and is seen standing on a coin-type of Azes.

SYMBOLS : Some symbols have also figured as coin devices. These are :

(i) **Caduceus**

It was the emblem of Greek deity Hermes. It represented power of

- (1) *Standing* PMC., I, pl. XI, no. (Azes), pl. XIV, no. 353 (Azilises); *walking* pl. XV, I, no. 35, 43 (Gondophares), pl. X, no. 5 (Maues), *Trotting*-pl. XII, no. 254 (Azes); *Galloping* pl. XIII, no. 323 (Azilises).
- (2) *Standing-Ibid.*, pl. XII, no. 283 (Azes), pl. X, no. 31 (Maues) pl. XIV, nos. 362, 363 (Azilises); *Running-Ibid.*, pl. X, no. 31 (Maues)
- (3) PMC., pl. XVI, no. 125 (Hycrodes).
- (4) PMC., I, pl. X, nos. 10, 32 (Maues), pl. XII, nos. 284, 289 (Azes), pl. XIV, nos. 358, 363 (Azilises), pl. XVI, no. 34 (Zeionises).
- (5) *Standing-Ibid.*, p. 103 (Maues), pl. XII, nos. 222, 257, 309 (Azes), pl. XIV, no. 369 (Azilises), *Galloping-Ibid.*, pl. XVI, no. 34 (Zeionises), pl. XVI, no. 91 (Kharhostes), p. 166 (Spilarides).
- (6) PMC., I, pl. XII, no. 305 (Azes).
- (7) *Ibid.*

producing wealth.² Initially, it was regarded as a herald's staff and an emblem of peaceful intercourse. In form, it was formed of three shoots one of which was the handle and the other two being intertwined at the top in a knot. The coins of Maues¹ (pl. I, no. 7; fig. 26) portray it as an independent device while those of Azes² reveal it as an attribute of deity Hermes.

(ii) Palm branch

It is a tree or a shrub (fig. 30) of an order of monocotyledons. It delineated excellence. On the Indo-Scythian coins, it has been associated with city-deities³ (fig. 23), Nike,⁴ (fig. 12) Śiva⁵ (fig. 24) and Dioskouri⁶ (fig. 5).

(iii) Tripod

It is a type of altar (fig. 27) used by priests to utter oracles at Delphi. Since Delphi was the stronghold of Apollo, it came to be associated with him. Its representation is seen only⁷ once.

(iv) Wreath

It (fig. 28) symbolised Victory and was a characteristic emblem of Nike. She either holds it in her hand⁸ or gives⁹ it to the king or the

- (1) *PMC*, pl. X, no. 5 (Maues).
- (2) *Ibid*, pl. XI, nos. 195, 217 (Azes).
- (3) *Ibid*, pl. XI, no. 179 (Azes).
- (4) *Ibid*, pl. XI, no. 187 (Azes).
- (5) *Ibid*, pl. XV, no. 43 (Gondophares).
- (6) *Ibid*, pl. XIII, no. 323 (Azilises). The other deities using palm-leaf include a deity wearing a mural crown (*Ibid*, pl. XIII, no. 334) and a deity holding fire in her extended hand (*Ibid*, pl. XIII; nos. 319, 339).
- (7) *Ibid*, pl. X, no. 18 (Maues).
- (8) *Ibid*, I, pl. X, no. 1 (Maues), pl. XI, no. 187 (Azes), pl. XVI, no. 72 (Orhagnes), pl. XVI, no. 76 (Pakores).
- (9) *Ibid*, pl. XVI, no. 82.

elephant¹ snatches it from her hand. In other instances, it has even been associated with Herakles² who is portrayed as crowning himself (fig. 7) with the wreath.

(v) **Lion's skin**

It was an attribute (fig. 29)) of Herakles. It is seen hanging (fig. 6) from his left hand.³

(vi) **Coronucopie**

Representing the horn of plenty (fig. 31), it is associated with Demeter⁴ and city⁵-goddesses on the coins of Azes, Azilises, Zeionises and Soter Megas.

War Weapons

The Indo-Scythian coins are also an important evidence of the forms of contemporary war weapons. Their technique of handling the weapon is also sometimes seen. A few of the weapons were :—

(i) **Bow**

Both simple (fig. 35) and complex (fig. 32) forms of the bow are found. The latter type is associated with the king. In one⁶ instance the king is seated on a stool and the weapon is held in the front. Usually, the weapon is kept on the back⁷ or is attached with the saddle⁸ (pl. VI, no. 10).

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(1) *CCGSK*, p. 70, no. 14 (Maues).

(2) *PMC.*, I, pl. XII, no. 256 (Azes).

(3) *Ibid.*, pl. XII, no. 254 (Azes), p. 132 unrep. type, no. iii (Azilises & Azes), pl. XIV, no. 379 (Vonones and Spalahores).

(4) *Ibid.*, pl. XI, no. 217 (Azes).

(5) *Ibid.*, pl. XIII, no. 334 (Azilises), pl. XVI, no. 82 (Zeionises), pl. XVI, no. 113 (Soter Megas).

(6) *Ibid.*, pl. XVII, no. 1 (Sanabares).

(7) *Ibid.*, pl. XIII, no. 320 (Azilises); pl. XII, no. 305 (Azes), pl. XIV, no. 397 (Spalirises).

(8) *Ibid.*, pl. XIII, no. 336 (Azilises).

It was prepared of three pieces.¹ The two horn-like pieces of wood or metal were joined together by the third. The simple bow is noticed with Apollo.² Only in one instance, it figures as an independent³ coin device.

(ii) Arrow

It was made of a stem of reed or light wood. Its one end is furnished with a blade and the other with feathers⁴ (fig. 33).

(iii) Quiver

The arrows were kept in a quiver. In shape, it used to be round and tapering at the bottom and open and broad at the top end and was kept on the back⁵ by a warrior. The cavaliers⁷ kept it with the saddle of the horse.

(iv) Bow case

While carrying the bow was often kept in a case called bow case (fig. 34). It is portrayed on the coins of Maues⁸ and Arsakes.

(v) Trident

It constituted (fig. 43) of a staff and a three-pronged shaft, and is seen in the hands of Poseidon⁹ and Śiva. In all these the prongs go straight upwards.

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(1) *PMC.*, I, pl. XIV, no. 396.

(2) *Ibid.*, pl. X, no. 18 (Maues).

(3) *Ibid.*, pl. XIV, no. 396 (Spalirises with Azes).

(4) *Ibid.*

(5) *Ibid.*, pl. X, no. 35 (Maues).

(6) *Ibid.*

(7) *Ibid.*, pl. XIII, no. 320 (Azilises); pl. XVI, no. 82 (Zeionises).

(8) *Ibid.*, pl. X, no. 35; XVII, v (Arsakes Theos).

(9) *Ibid.*, pl. X, no. 20 (Maues); pl. XV, no. 43 (Gondophares).

(vi) Spear

It was an offensive weapon and was quite popular with the Scythian¹ kings. Deities² like Discouri, and Pallas hold it in one of their hands. A warrior³ in one instance is also seen armed with a spear (pl. VII, no. 5).

(vii) Lance

Another offensive weapon was lance. Its blade appears as pointed or leaf-shaped.⁴

(viii) Thunderbolt

It was a divine weapon associated⁵ with Zeus, Pallas and Poseidon. Its prongs go straight (figs. 48-49) and was held from the middle. Its two maneuvers i.e. by raising it up to the waist (pl. II, no. 7) in the case of Zeus⁶ and up to the neck in the instance with Pallas⁷ (pl. II, no. 11) are

- (1) *PMC.*, pl. XI, no. 36 (Azes); pl. XIV, no. 366 (Azilises), pl. XVI, no. 91 (Kharohstes); pl. XVI, no. 94 (Soter Megas).
- (2) *Ibid*, pl. XIII, no. 327; pl. XI, no. 157.
- (3) *Ibid*, pl. XVI, no. 119.
- (4) *CCGSK.*, pl. XVI, no. 3 (Maues); pl. XVII, no. 8, (Azes); pl. XVIII, no. 2; pl. XVIII, no. 10, (Azes); pl. XX, no. 1, (Azilises).
- (5) With Zeus-*PMC.*, I, pl. XI, no. 46 (Azes), pl. XIV, no. 374 (Vonones with Špalahores), pl. XIV, no. 382 (Vonones with Špalagadames), pl. XIV, no. 394 (Špalirišes); with Pallas-pl. XI, no. 127 (Azes), pl. XIII, no. 331 (Azilises); with Poseidon, p. 23 (Maues).
- (6) *Ibid*, pl. XI, no. 46 (Azes); pl. XIV, no. 374 (Vonones with Špalahores), pl. XIV, no. 382 (Vonones with Špalagadames); pl. XIV, no. 394 (Špalirišes). In another instance, Zeus raises it above the neck (*ibid*, pl. XI, no. 38).
- (7) *Ibid*, pl. XIII, no. 331 (Azilises).

noticeable. In another form¹ it appears as winged (fig. 47).

(ix) Club

Was the attribute (figs. 7, 20, 46) of Herakles. In shape, it is a tapering rod heavy at the bottom and attached with spikes. It was held by the top end² (fig. 20) or is found resting³ over the shoulder of the deity. Occasionally, it even rested⁴ on the thigh of the deity.

(x) Sceptre

Another divine weapon was sceptre (figs. 41, 42). It is associated⁵ with Zeus and a few female divinities. It is held straight or transversely.

(xi) Battle-axe

Yet another weapon was 'Parasu' (fig. 44). It figures only once⁶ in the context.

(xii) Cakra

In shape, the weapon appears as a wheel (fig. 50) attached with spokes.⁷

(xiii) Sword

It was a weapon of hand to hand fight and is seen associated⁸ with

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- (1) *CCGSK.*, XVII, no. 9.
- (2) *PMC.*, I, pl. X, no. 25 (Maues).
- (3) *Ibid.*, pl. XII, no. 254 (Azes).
- (4) *Ibid.*, pl. XIV, no. 353 (Azilises), pl. XIV, no. 386 Spalirises with Spalagadames).
- (5) With Zeus, *PMC.*, I, pl. X, no. 1 (Maues); with city goddess, *Ibid.*, p. 102, pl. X, no. 15 (Maues).
- (6) *Ibid.*, pl. XIV, no. 397 (Spalirises).
- (7) *Ibid.*, p. 103, ii (Maues).
- (8) *PMC.*, pl. XI, no. 195 (Azes), pl. XIII, no. 329 (Azilises). A short sword is also to be seen (*Ibid.*, pl. XVI, no. 119).

Dioskouri. Usually, it is held near the waist and is straight (fig. 45) in shape.

(xiv) Shield

Shield was a defensive Weapon. When associated with Pallas, it is named as Aegis. It is (figs. 51,52) either¹ round (pl. II, no. 5) or oval (pl. IV, no. 5). It was often decorated with designs. It was held (pl. II, no. 10) over the left arm² or on the back³ (pl. IV, no. 7) of the bearer. Only in one instance, it has figured independently⁴.

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- (1) Round-*Ibid*, pl. XIII, no. 351 (Azilises); pl. XIII, no. 336, pl. XIV; no. 379, oval-*Ibid*, pl. XI, no. 145, XII, no. 317.
- (2) *Ibid*, pl. XIII, no. 331 (Azilises).
- (3) *Ibid*, pl. XIII, no. 336 (Azilises); pl. XIV, no. 379
- (4) *Ibid*, pl. XV, unrep. type ii.

CATALOGUE

NUMERICAL SUMMARY OF COINS CATALOGUED

King	Gold	Silver	Billon	Copper	Total
Maues	-	5		14	19
Vonones with Spalahora	-	3	-	2	5
Spalyris with Spalagadames	-	-	-	5	5
Azes I	-	12	-	12	24
Azilises	-	4	-	3	7
Azilises with Azes II	-	2	-	-	2
Azes II	-	44	-	56	100
Gondophares	-	1	19	-	20
Abdagases	-	-	4	1	5
Pakores	-	-	3	-	3
Zeionises	-	1	-	4	5

King	Gold	Silver	Billon	Copper	Total
Heraos	-	1	-	-	1
Soter Megas	-	-	-	39	39
Hyrkodes	-	2	-	-	2
Phsigacharis	-	1	-	-	1
Total :	-	76	26	136	238

Sl. No.	Accn. No.	Obverse	Reverse
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MAUES

Type: Zeus & Nike, round

1	25977 AR	Zeus carrying long sceptre, standing to l. with r. arm out- stretched. Greek leg. Basileos Basileon Megaloy Mayoy. W. 146. S. 1.05.	Winged Nike to r. with wreath and palm bound with fillet. Kh. leg. <i>Rajadirajasa mahatasa</i> <i>Moasa.</i> To r. M.2. Pl. I, 1
2	25975	W. 138.	To r. M.3.
3	6900	W. 135. S. .1.	To r. M.1.
4	25976	but inscription slightly barbarous. W. 148.	To r. M. 2. Pl. I, 2
5	25978	W. 35. S. .75.	To r. M. 2. Pl. I, 3

(2) Type: elephant's head & Caduceus, round

6	25986 Æ	In border of reels and pellets, elephant's head to r. with trunk upraised and bell round neck; no leg. W. 143. S. 1. 2.	Caduceus. To r. Basileos Mayoy. To l. M. 1. Pl. 1. 7
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Sl. No.	Accn. No.	Obverse	Reverse
7	25985 Æ	W. 127. S. 1. 05.	
8	25987	W. 100. S.1.	

(3) Type: Artemis & bull, round

9	25988 Æ	Artemis radiate, clad in short chiton and boots, veil floating round the head. Greek leg. Basileos Basileon Megaloy Mayoy. W. 135. S. .95.	Humped bull to l. Kh. leg. <i>Rajadirajasa mahatasa Moasa.</i> To l. M. 5.
10	25989	W. 127. S. .9.	„ „ Pl. I, 4

(4) Type: lunar deity & Nike, square

11	25983 Æ	Draped goddess with long sceptre standing to front between two starlike ornaments. Greek leg. on three sides. To r. Basileos, Above, Basileon Me- To l. galoy Mayoy. W. 166. S. .95.	Winged Nike to l. with wreath and palm. Kh. leg. To r. <i>Moasa</i> , Above, <i>Mahatasa</i> , To l. <i>Rajadirajasa</i> , To l. M. 65.
			Pl. I, 3

Sl. No.	Accn. No.	Obverse	Reverse
12	25984 Æ	W. 155. S. .9.	Pl. I. 6

(5) Type: Apollo & tripod, square

13	8942 Æ	Apollo standing to front holds arrow in r. hand and bow in l. Greek leg. on three sides- Basileos Mayoy. W. 17. S. .5.	Within square of dots l, tripod lebes. Kh. leg. <i>Maharajasa Moasa.</i> Pl. I
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(6) Type: Poseidon with trident & Bacchante, square

14	9575 Æ	Poseidon clad in himation stand- ing to front with long trident in l. hand; r. hand on hip; r. foot placed on shoulder of a small radiate figure underneath him. Greek leg. as on no. 11. W. 176. S. .95.	Female figure clad in chiton and himation, standing to front bet- ween trees. Kh. leg as on no. 11. Pl. I, 9
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(7) Type: king on horseback & Nike, square

15	25979 Æ	King on horseback to r. with couched lance. Greek leg. as on no. 11. W. 207. S. .9.	Winged Nike standing to l. with wreath and palm. To l. M. 6. Pl. II, 1
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Sl. No	Acc. No.	Obverse	Reverse
(8) Type: elephant & seated king, square			
16	25980 Æ	In square of fillet pattern, elephant running to r. with wreath in uplifted trunk. Greek leg. as on no. 11. W. 145. S. .9.	In square of fillet pattern, king facing, seated cross-legged on cushion, sword on his knees. Kh. leg. as on no. 11. M. 8 in r. upper corner. M. 6.
17-18	* 25981	W. 133. S. .75.	Pl. II, 2
19	8943	W. 129. S. .85.	

Unrepresented types:

- (i) Two horse chariot & Zeus enthroned, *Æ*, *PMC.*, I, pl. XV, no. 1.
- (ii) As type (i), but square, *Æ*, Cunningham, *Coins of the Sakas*, pl. II, no. 3.
- (iii) Enthroned deity & Zeus Nikephoros, *Æ*, *PMC.*, I, pl. X, no. 4.
- (iv) Enthroned Zeus & city-goddess, *Æ*, *Ibid*, pl. X, no. 15.
- (v) Standing Zeus & male deity, *Æ*, *Ibid*, pl. X, no. 16.
- (vi) Poseidon with trident and thunderbolt & Bacchante, *Æ*, *PMC*, p. 101, no. 23.
- (vii) As type (vi), but without trident, *Æ*, *Ibid*, p. 101, no. 24.
- (viii) Male deity with club & goddess, *Æ*, *Ibid*, pl. X, no. 25.

* 25982

Sl. No.	Accn. No.	Obverse	Reverse
(ix)		King on horseback & goddess, Æ, <i>Ibid</i> , p. 102 no. 28.	
(x)		Running elephant & bull Æ, <i>Ibid</i> , pl. X, no. 32.	
(xi)		Walking elephant & bull Æ, <i>Ibid</i> , pl. X, no. 34.	
(xii)		Mounted horseman & deity with shield or wheel, Æ, Cunningham, <i>op. cit.</i> , pl. II, no. 7.	
(xiii)		Herakles & lion, Æ, <i>Ibid</i> , pl. II, no. 9.	
(xiv)		Standing male figure with <i>añkus</i> & aegis, Æ, <i>Ibid</i> , pl. II, no. 13.	
(xv)		Enthroned Zeus with forepart of the elephant & Herakles, Æ, <i>PMC</i> , p. 70, no. 14.	
(xvi)		Horse & bow, Æ, <i>BMC.</i> , I, pl. X, no. 35.	
(xvii)		As type (5), but full size coin with usual bi-lingual legend in their entirety, Æ, <i>Ibid</i> , p. 103, Unrep. type, no. vi.	

VONONES with SPALAHORES

Type : king on horseback & Zeus, round

20-21*	6903	King on horseback to r. with couched spear. Greek leg. Basileos Basileon Megaloy Ononoy.	Deity radiate, standing to front, leaning on a long sceptre in l. with thunderbolt in r. hand. Kh. leg. <i>Mahārāja bhrāta dhra- mikasa Spalahorasa.</i>
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* 5879

Sl. No.	Accn. No.	Obverse	Reverse
22	26087 A	W. 144. S. .9. W. 34. S. .6.	To l. Kh. M. 46. Pl. II, 4 but M. 54. Pl. II, 3

(2) Type : Herakles & Pallas, square

23	26088 A	Herakles standing to front- holding club and lion's skin in l. hand and crowning him- self with the r. hand. Greek leg. as on no. 20. W. 120. S. .9. x . 7.	Pallas standing to l. with shield and spear. Kh. leg. as on no. 20. M. 62. Pl. II, 5
24	8951	„	„ Pl. II, 6

SPALYRIS with SPALAGADAMES**Type : mounted king & seated Herakles, square**

25	26089 A	In square frame king on horse- back to r. Greek leg. Spalyrios Dikaioy Adelphoy Toy Basileos. W. 131. S. .8 x. 9.	Naked Herakles, diad- emed sitting on rock supporting club on knee. Kh. leg. <i>Spalahoraputrasa</i> <i>dhramikasa</i> <i>Spalagadamasa.</i> To l. M. 64.
26-27	26090	„	To l. M. 63. Pl. II, 9

• 26092

Sl. No.	Accn. No.	Obverse	Reverse
28	26091 Æ		But M. 66.
29	26093	W. 88. S. .9.	

Unrepresented types :

Mounted king & Herakles, Æ,
PMC., I, p. 143, no. 393.

AZES I**Type: mounted king with spear & Zeus, round**

30	25990 AR	Mounted king to r. holding couched spear. Greek leg. Basileos Basileon Megaloy Azoy. In ex. Kh. <i>ba</i> . W. 143. S. 1. 1.	Zeus, standing, holds thunderbolt in r. hand and a long sceptre in l. hand. Kh. leg. <i>Mahirajasa raja rajasa mahata,a Ayasa</i> . To r. Kh. <i>a</i> . To l. M. 27. Pl. II, 7
31	25991	„ „ but ex. blank. W. 144. S. 1.	As above, but Zeus brandishing thunder- bolt with r. hand. To r. Kh. <i>lo</i> . To l. M. 9.

Sl. No.	Accn. No.	Obverse	Reverse
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**(2) Type: mounted king with spear & Pallas to l.
with thunderbolt, round**

32	6918 AR	Mounted king to r. holds couched lance. Greek leg. as on no. 30. To r. Kh. <i>ga</i> . W. 142. S. 1.	Pallas to l. with aegis and thunderbolt. Kh. leg. as on no. 30. To l. M. 10. To r. M. 24. Pl. II, 10
33	26007	To r. Kh. <i>kha</i> . S. 1. 1.	To l. M. 25. To r. Kh. <i>a</i> .

(3) Type : as type (2), but small

34	6890 AR	As on no. 32. W. 35. S. . 6.	As on no. 32. To r. Kh. <i>a</i> . To l. M. 27. Pl. II, 11
35	26009	W. 31.	„
36	26008	To r. Kh. <i>sa</i> . S. . 7.	To r. M. 12. To l. M. 10.
37	26010	To r. Kh. <i>mo</i> .	„

**(4) Type: mounted king with spear & goddess
with palm, round**

38	26021 AR	King on horseback to r. hold- ing couched lance. Greek leg. as on no. 30. W. 146. S. 1. 05.	Goddess to l. with palm in l. hand and flames on out-stre- tched r. hand. Kh. leg. as on no. 30. To r. Kh. <i>mi</i> . To l. M. 40. and Kh. <i>sa</i> . Pl. II, 8
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Sl. No.	Accn. No.	Obverse	Reverse
39	26022	S. 1.10.	To r. Kh. <i>mi.</i> To l. M. 41. and Kh. <i>dhra.</i>
(5) Type: Zeus & Nike, round			
40	6897 Æ	Zeus standing to l. with long sceptre in l. hand and r. arm outstretched. Greek leg. as on no. 30.	Winged Nike to r. with palm & wreath. Kh. leg. as on no. 30. To r. M. 43.
		W. 34. S. .7.	Pl. III, 1
41	26020	W. 36.	
(6) Type : Poseidon & Bacchante, square			
42	26057 Æ	Poseidon clad in himation, standing to front holds trident in l. hand; r. hand rests on knee; foot placed on shoulder of a small figure to l. Greek leg. as on no. 30.	Female figure clad in chiton and himation stands in between two long branches of trees. Kh leg. as on no. 30.
		W. 176. S. .95 x 1.	To. l. M. 43.
43	26058	W. 158. S. 1. x 1. 1.	Pl. III, 2
44	8944	W. 156.	
45	26056	W. 155.	

Sl. No.	Accn. No.	Obverse	Reverse
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(7) Type: mounted king & bull, square

1			
46-47	26061 Æ	King on horseback to r. holding couched lance. Greek leg. To l. Basileos, Above. Basileon, To r. Mega..., below. Azoy W. 173. S. l. 1 x . 9.	Bull to r. Kh. leg To r. <i>Maharajasa</i> . Top: <i>Rajarajasa</i> . To l. <i>Mahatasa Ayasa</i> . In upper field M. 27; Kh. a.
2			
48-49	26062	W. 179. S. l. x .9.	Pl. III, 3
50	26064	W. 195. S. .9.	„ but M. 31; Kh. <i>sa</i> .
51	26065	Kh. <i>sha</i> .	„ but M. 41; Kh. <i>mi</i> .
52	26066	Kh. <i>pa</i> . W. 213. S. .9 x l. 1.	„ but M. 58.

(8) Type : as type (7), but round

53	26067 Æ	As on no. 47. W. 300. S. l. 25.	As on no. 47, but M. 27 after Kh. a.
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Pl. III, 4

1	26063
2	26060

Sl. No.	Accn. No.	Obverse	Reverse
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Unrepresented types :

- (i) Mounted king with spear & Zeus standing, *R*,
PMC, I, pl. XI, no. 36.
- (ii) Mounted king with spear & Nike to l., *R*,
Cunningham, *Coins of the Sakas*, pl. V, no. 1.
- (iii) Male deity with club & goddess *Æ*,
PMC., I, p. 123, no. 250.
- (iv) Herakles & horse, *Æ*,
Ibid, pl. XII, no. 254.
- (v) Mounted king & seated Herakles, *Æ*,
Ibid, pl. XII, no. 255.
- (vi) As type (iv), but standing Herakles, *Æ*,
Ibid, pl. XII, no. 256.
- (vii) King on Bactrian camel & yak, *Æ*,
Ibid, pl. XII, no. 305.
- (viii) Hephaistos & lion, *Æ*,
Ibid, p. 130, no. 309.

AZILISES**Type : mounted king & goddess with palm, round**

54	5135 <i>R</i>	King on horseback to r. holding a couched lance. Greek leg. Basileos Basileon Megaloy Azilisoy.	Goddess standing to l. holds flames in r. and palm-branch with fillet in the l. hand. Kh. leg. <i>Maharajasa rajarejasa mahatasa Ayilishasa.</i>
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Sl. No.	Accn. No.	Obverse	Reverse
		W. 125. S. 1.	To r. Kh. <i>na</i> . To l. M. 20. Pl. III, 8
55	26083	,, Kh. <i>sam</i> in ex. W. 146. S. 1. 05.	To r. Kh. <i>si</i> . To l. M. 53.
(2) Type : as type (1), but small in size, round			
56	6891 A	As on no. 54. Kh. <i>sa</i> . W. 34. S. 7.	As on no. 54. To r. Kh. <i>si</i> . To l. m. 61. Pl. III, 5
57	6899	To r. Kh. <i>dha</i> .	To r. Kh. <i>si</i> . To l. M. 60., Pl. III. 6
(3) Type: mounted king & seated Herakles, square			
58	26086 Æ	In dotted frame king on horseback with whip to r. Greek leg. on four sides-Basileos Basileon Megaloy Azilisoy. Kh. <i>bi</i> . on horse's head.	In square frame, naked Herakles with diadem, seated on a rock, club resting on his knee. Kh. leg. <i>Maharajasa mahatasa Ayilishasa</i> . To. r. Kh. <i>si</i> . To l. M. 61. Pl. III, 9
(4) Type: king on horse-back & bull, square			
59	26084 Æ	King on horse-back with a couched lance to r. Greek leg. as on no. 58.	Bull to r. Kh. leg. on four sides-Maharajasa rajarajasa mahatasa Ayilishasa.

Sl. No.	Accn. No.	Obverse	Reverse
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W. 78.
S. .8. x .7.

To r. M. 12.
To l. M. 10 Pl. III, 7

(5) Type: elephant & bull, square

60 26085
Æ

Elephant to r. in border of
dets Greek leg. as on no.
58, Above, Kh. *ma*.
W. 112.
S. .9. x .8.

Bull to l. Kh. leg. as on
no. 58. but on three sides
only.
To l. M. 44.
Pl. III, 10

Unrepresented types :

- (i) Mounted king & standing Zeus, $\mathcal{R}$,
PMC., I, pl. XIII, nos. 320, & 322.
- (ii) Standing Zeus Nikephoros & mounted Dioskouri, $\mathcal{R}$,
Ibid, pl. XIII, nos. 323, & 24.
- (iii) As type (ii), but enthroned Zeus Nikephoros, $\mathcal{R}$,
Ibid, XIII, pl. nos. 325, & 326.
- (iv) Mounted king & standing Dioskouri, $\mathcal{R}$,
Ibid, pl. XIII, no. 327.
- (v) Mounted king & one of the Dioskouri standing, $\mathcal{R}$,
Ibid, pl. XIII, nos. 329, & 330.
- (vi) Mounted king & pallas, $\mathcal{R}$,
Ibid, pl. XIII, no. 331.
- (vii) Mounted king & *Lakshmi*, $\mathcal{R}$,
Ibid, I pl. XIII, nos. 332, & 333.
- (viii) Mounted king & God and Goddess $\mathcal{R}$.
Ibid, pl. XIII, no. 334 & 335.
- (ix) Mounted king & asyncretic deity, $\mathcal{R}$,
Ibid, pl. XIII, no. 336.
- (x) Herak'les & horse. $\mathcal{R}$,
Ibid, pl. XIV, no. 357.

Sl. No.	Accn. No.	Obverse	Reverse
		(xi) Mounted king & bull to l.Æ, <i>Ibid</i> , pl. XIV, no. 358.	
		(xii) Mounted king & elephant,Æ, <i>Ibid</i> , pl. XIV, no 362.	
		(xiii) Standing king & deity,Æ, <i>Ibid</i> , pl. XIV, no. 366.	
		(xiv) Hephaistos & lion,Æ, <i>Ibid</i> , pl. XIV, no. 369.	
		(xv) Enthroned deity with mural crown & Zeus,Æ, Cunningham, <i>Coins of the Sakas</i> pl. VIII, no. 6.	
		(xvi) Zeus standing & deity with flowing drapery,Æ, Cunningham, <i>Ibid</i> , pl VIII, no 7.	
		(xvii) Standing male figure with palm & bull, Æ, Cunningham, <i>Ibid</i> , pl. VIII, no. 5.	
		(xviii) <i>Lakshmi</i> between elephants & goddess, Æ, White King, <i>Sale Catalogue</i> , pt. 1, pl. IV, no. 299.	
		(xix) Male figure striding to l. with wreath & lion, Æ, <i>PMC</i> , I, p. 141, Unrep. (v).	

AZILISES & AZES

Type: mounted king with whip & standing Zeus, round

61-62	*10192	King on horse back to r., holding <i>añkus</i> in r. hand Greek leg. : Basileos Basileon Mega- loy Azilisoy. To r. Kh <i>ma</i> .	Zeus standing to front, facing l. holds a long sceptre in l. hand while Nike stands on the r. extended hand. Kh. leg.
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*10193

Sl. No.	Accn. No.	Obverse	Reverse
		W. 70. S. .6.	<i>Mcharajasa rajarajasa</i> <i>Mahatasa Ayasa.</i> To r. Kh. <i>sum.</i> To l. M. 44. Pl. IV, 2

Unrepresented types:

Mounted king & Pallas, *AR* Cunningham, *Coins of the Sakas*, pl. VII, no. 2

AZES II**Type: mounted king with whip & standing Zeus Nikephoros, round**

63	10194 <i>AR</i>	Mounted king to r. holding whip in r. hand. Greek leg Basileos Basileon Megaloy Azoy. W. 141. S. .95.	Zeus standing to l. with long sceptre in l. hand and Nike on outstretched r. hand. Kh. leg. <i>Maharajasa rajarajasa mahatasa Ayasa.</i> To r. Kh. <i>bu.</i> To l. M. 11.
64	10195	To r. Kh. <i>go.</i>	To r. Kh. <i>tra; sa.</i> To l. Kh. <i>bu.</i>
65	10197	To r. Kh. <i>Jho.</i>	To r. M. 39. To l. M. 12.
66	25992	To l. Kh. <i>ga.</i>	To r. M. 13; Kh. <i>bu.</i> To l. M. 15. pl. IV, 3

Sl. No.	Accn. No.	Obverse	Reverse
67	12189	Over horse's head. Kh. <i>sa</i> .	To r. M. 13; Kh. <i>bu</i> . To l. M. 14.
68	25993	To r. Kh. <i>pra</i> .	To r. M. 13; Kh. <i>bu</i> . To l. M. 14.
69	25994	To r. Kh. <i>bu</i> ; In ex. Kh. <i>mi</i> .	„ „
70	25995	To r. M. 2 .	To r. M. 13; 17. To l. M. 16.

(2) Type: as type (1), but small in size

71	8946	As on no. 65.	As on no. 63.
	A	W. 29.	To r. Kh. <i>bu</i> .
		S. 55.	To l. M. 18.
1			
72-73	25999	„ but Kh. <i>mo</i> .	To r. Kh. <i>sam</i> . To l. M. 19.
2			
74-77	26000	„ Kh. <i>bu</i> .	To r. Kh. <i>sam</i> . To l. M. 12.
3			
78-79	25998	„ Kh. <i>de</i> .	as on no. 72.
			pl. IV, 1
80	26001	„ Kh. <i>ji</i> .	To r. M. 48. To l. M. 7.
81	26002	„ Kh. <i>a</i> .	To r. blurred.
82	26003	„ blank.	To r. <i>dhra</i> . To l. M. 11; 47.
83	26006	„ Kh. <i>am</i> .	To r. Kh. <i>du</i> . To l. M. 234.
1	33381.		
2	25997, 8751, 8750.		
3	25996.		

Sl. No.	Accn. No.	Obverse	Reverse
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84	26004	„ Kh. <i>sha</i> .	To r. Kh. <i>vri</i> .
85-86	26081	Worn out.	To l. M. 12.

(3) Type: mounted king with whip & Pallas
standing to l., round

87	26018 R	King on horse back to r. holding whip in r. hand. Greek leg. Basileos Basileon Mega- loy Azoy. W. 112. S. 1.	Pallas standing to l. with shield and spear on l. side; r. arm out- stretched. Kh. leg. <i>Maharajasa rajarajasa</i> <i>mahatasa Ayasa</i> . To r. M. 26. To l. Kh. <i>a</i> .
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Pl. IV, 5

(4) Type : as type (3), but small, round

88	6896 R	As on no. 87. To r. Kh. <i>sa</i> . W. 33. S. .6.	As on no. 51. To r. M. 10. To l. Kh. <i>va</i> .
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Pl. IV, 7

(5) Type: mounted king with whip & Pallas to r.
with outstretched arm, round

89	5139 R	As on no. 87. To r. Kh. <i>a</i> . W. 147. S. 1.	Pallas standing to r. with r. arm outstretched and shield and spear on l. side. M. 28; 29.
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* 26082.

Sl. No.	Accn. No.	Obverse	Reverse
90	6902	„ Kh. <i>va.</i>	M. 30;31.
¹ 91-92	26013	„	To r. M. 12. To l. M. 32; 22.
93	26011	„	To r. M. 37. To l. M. 36.
94	26012	„ Kh. <i>aum.</i>	To r. M. 33. To l. M. 32.
95	26014	„ M. 26	
(6) Type: as type (5), but small, round			
96	6892 R	As on no. 89. Kh. <i>de.</i> W. 38. S. 65.	As on no. 89. To r. M. 29. To l. M. 28.
97	8947	„ but Kh. <i>ge.</i>	To r. M. 36. To l. M. 35.
98	6894	„ Kh. <i>na.</i>	„
99	6893	„ Kh. <i>da.</i>	To r. M. 28. To l. M. 29.
100	26016	„ Kh. <i>cha.</i>	„ „
101	26017	„ Kh. <i>la.</i>	To r. M. 29. To l. M. 56.
(7) Type : mounted king with whip & Pallas crowning herself, round			
² 102-104	6895 R	As on no. 87. in ex Kh. <i>sa.</i>	As on no. 89, but Pallas is crowning herself with
¹ 26015 ² 6898, 26005.			

Pl. IV, 4

Pl. IV, 8

Sl. No.	Accn. No.	Obverse	Reverse
		W. 25. S. .6.	the r. hand. To r. M. 28. To l. M. 34.
105	26019	„ but Kh. <i>ga</i> .	To r. M. 10. To l. Kh. <i>a</i> .
			Pl. IV, 11
		(8) Type : as type (7), but Poseidon standing to r, round	
106	10196 Æ	As on no. 102. Kh. <i>gam</i> . W. 147. S. .8.	Poseidon, holding long trident standing to r. with r. arm outstretched. Kh leg. as on no. 89. To r. Kh. <i>si</i> To l. M. 15.
			Pl. IV, 6
		(9) Type : king seated crosslegged & Hermes, round	
107	26023 Æ	King seated crosslegged to front on raised cushion with head turned to l. sword or mace across body and <i>ankus</i> in outstretched r. hand. Greek leg. Basileos Basileon Megaloy Azoy. To. l. Kh. <i>Jham</i> W. 142. S. .9.	Hermes with caduceus in l. hand walking to l. with r. arm outstretched. Kh. leg. <i>Maharajasa rajarajasa mahatasa Ayasa</i> . To r. Kh. <i>sma</i> . To l. M. 44.
			Pl. IV, 12

Sl. No.	Accn. No.	Obverse	Reverse
108	26026	„ but Kh. <i>vi</i> . W. 132. S. .9.	To r. M. 15 below Kh. <i>bi</i> . To l. M. 15. Pl. IV, 13
109	26025	„but Kh. <i>pra</i> to r. W. 96. S. .9.	M. 15.
110	8948	„ but Kh. <i>pa</i> . W. 93.	To r. M. 45 below Kh. <i>bu</i> . To l. M. 15.
111	26024	„ but Kh. <i>mu</i> . to l.	M. 15.
112	26051	„ but Kh. <i>ba</i> . W. 71. S. .7.	„
113	26051	„ but blank. W. 77. S. .9.	To r. M. 51 below Kh. <i>bu</i> . To r. M. 15.
* 114-116 33382		Worn out.	

(10) Type: enthroned Demeter & Hermes, round

117	8949 Æ	Demeter seated on throne; r arm extended, l. hand holds cornucopiae. Greek leg. as on no. 107. W. 155. S. .9.	Hermes to l; r. arm extended. Caduceus in l. hand. Kh. leg. as on no. 107. To r. M. 28. To l. M. 37.
118	26029	W. 168. S. l. 05.	 Pl. IV, 14
119	26027	W. 173. S. l. 1.	

* 33383, 33384.

Sl. No.	Accn. No.	Obverse	Reverse
120-123*	26032	W. 71. S. 1.	
(11) Type : lion & standing Demeter, round			
124	8950 Æ	*Lion walking to r. In upper field O. Greek leg. as on no. 107 but barbarous. M. 52. W. 39. S. .6.	Demeter with cornucopiae standing to l. Kh. leg. as on no. 107. Tor. Kh. <i>sa</i> . To l. M. 23. Pl. IV, 9
125	26033	W. 40.	Pl. IV, 10
126	26034	Kh. <i>ta</i> .	To r. Kh. <i>ni</i> To r. M. indistinct.
127	26035	Kh. <i>mi</i> . W. 25. S. .5.	
128	26078	W. 35 S. .65.	To r. Kh. <i>vi</i> . To l. M. 23.
129	26080	M. 56. W. 79. S. .7.	To r. M. 50. To l. M. 20.
130	26079	Kh. <i>tha</i> W. 94. S. .8.	To r. Kh. <i>vi</i> . To l. worn out.

* 26028, 26030, 26031.

Sl. No.	Accn. No.	Obverse	Reverse
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(12) Type : mounted king & standing Demeter,
round

131	26059 Æ	Mounted king to r. with whip in r. hand. Greek leg. as on no. 107. M. 66. W. 149. S. .8.	Demeter standing to front, with r. arm extend- ed and cornucopiae in l. hand. Kh. leg. <i>Maharajasa mahatasa</i> <i>ahramikasa rajatirajasa</i> <i>Ayasa.</i> Kh. <i>segesa to r.</i> Pl. V, 1
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(13) Type : elephant & bull, round

132	26052 Æ	Elephant to r. Greek leg. Basileos Basileon Megaloy Azoy. W. 211. S. l. 05.	Humped bull to r. Kh. leg. <i>Maharajasa rajadirajasa</i> <i>mahatasa Ayasa.</i> M. 27 & 12. Pl. V, 2
133	26053	W. 159. Kh. a.	M. 10 & 24.
134	26055	„	M. 26.
135	26054	Kh. si.	M. 10 & 37.

(14) Type : bull & camel, round

136	26077 Æ	Humped bull to r. Kh. <i>pa.</i>	Bactrian camel to r. Kh. leg. indistinct.
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Sl. No.	Accn. No.	Obverse	Reverse
		W. 149. S. .9.	To r. M. 49. Pl. V, 4
		(15) Type : bull & lion, round	
I 137-38	26039	Humped bull to r. Greek leg. as on no. 132. W. 242. S. 1.	Lion to r. Kh. leg. as on no. 132. M. 38.
	Æ		
139	26042	„ but M. 59 in upper field below Kh. <i>si</i> . W. 217. S. 1.	„ „
140	26043	„ but M. 12 in upper field below Kh. <i>phi</i> . W. 213. S. 1. 05.	M. 42.
141	26046	„ but Kh. <i>si</i> in upper field below Kh. <i>bu</i> . W. 211. S. .9.	M. 53.
142	26048	„ but M. 34. W. 207. S. 1. 1.	but M. 31 below Kh. <i>gu</i> .
2 143-144	26044	„ M. 10 in upper field below Kh. <i>tu</i> . W. 205. S. 1.	M. 57.
1.	33388.		
2.	33387.		

Sl. No.	Accn. No.	Obverse	Reverse
145	26041	„ but M. 30. W. 203. S. 1. 1.	M. 31.
146	26047	„ but <i>bu</i> in lower field. W. 197.	M. 37.
147	26036	„ W. 193. S. 1.	M. 36. ⁴
¹ 148-149	26037	„ M. 28 below the face Kh. <i>a</i> .	M. 37. Pl. V, 3
150	26040	„ but Kh. <i>ga</i> in lower field.	„
151	26045	„ but Kh. <i>de</i> .	M. 57.
152	26049	„ „ but Kh. <i>de</i> .	but in upper field M. 59, below Kh. <i>msa</i> .

(16) Type: mounted king & Pallas with name of
Aspavarma, round

² 153-51	26074 Æ	King r. on horseback holds <i>añkus</i> , behind him bow on saddle beneath; to r. M. 39. Greek leg. Basileos Basileon Megaloy Azoy. W. 156. S. 8.	Armed Pallas to r. Kh leg. <i>Indravarma putrasa</i> <i>Aśpavarmaśa strategasa</i> <i>jayatasa</i> . To r. M. 13. To l. Kh <i>mi</i> .
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1 26038.
2 26024.

Sl. No.	Accn. No.	Obverse	Reverse
155	26069	M. 39. W. 152. S. 8.	To r. M. 12. To l. Kh. <i>a</i> , besides star M. 32. Pl. V, 5
156	26073	W. 150.	As on no. 155 but Kh. <i>bu</i> . to l.
157	26071	*W. 149.	To r. M. 19. To l. Kh. <i>ka</i> .
158	26070	W. 148.	To r. M. 24. To l. Kh. <i>ni</i> .
159	26068	To r. M. 39. W. 140.	To r. M. 24. To l. Kh. <i>da</i> .
160	26076	M. 39. W. 116.	To r. M. 12. To l. Kh. <i>bu</i> .
161	26075	M. 39.	To r. M. 24. To l. Kh. <i>spa</i> . To M. 19.
162	26072	Worn out.	To r. Kh. <i>ga</i> .

Unrepresented types :

- (i) Mounted king with whip & Pallas standing to r.
but arm is by side, *Æ*,
PMC., I, pl. XI, no. 166.
- (ii) Hermes & standing Demeter, *Æ*,
Ibid, pl. XII, no. 218.
- (iii) Mounted king & Pallas, *Æ*,
Ibid, pl. XII, no. 252.
- (iv) Elephant & bull, square, *Æ*,
Ibid, p. 128, no. 289 a.

Sl. No.	Accn. No.	Obverse	Reverse
(v)		<i>Lakshmi</i> & bull, Æ, <i>Ibid</i> , pl. XII, no. 308.	
(vi)		Mounted king & lion, Æ, <i>IMC.</i> , I, pl. IX, no. 3.	
(vii)		King seated & Pallas facing, Æ, <i>Ibid</i> , p. 48, no. 75.	
(viii)		Mounted king & Zeus, square, Æ, <i>NS.</i> , Vol. XIV, pl. 34-35.	
(ix)		Mounted king & thundering Pallas, Æ, <i>JASB.</i> , 1897, pl. I, no. 2.	
(x)		As type (ix), but square, Æ, <i>PMC.</i> , I, p. 131, Unrep. iii.	

GONDOPHARES

Type: mounted horseman & Zeus, round

163	26103 Æ	King to r. on horse-back; r. arm extended. Gondopharian symbol to r. Greek leg. Basileos Basileon Megaloy Yondopheroi. W. 139. S. .85.	Zeus standing to r. with r. arm extended, long sceptre in l. hand. Kh. leg. <i>Maharaja rajatiraja tradata devatrata Guda-pharasa.</i> To r. Kh. <i>ra</i> above and <i>phre</i> below. To l. M. 15.
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Pl. V, 6

Sl. No.	Accn. No.	Obverse	Reverse
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(2) Type : as type (1), but Zeus with name Sasasa, round

164	26108 B	As on no. 163, but legend almost illegible. Under horse Kh. <i>gha</i> . W. 165. S. .8.	As on no. 163. Kh. leg. <i>Maharajasa mahatasa tratarasa devatratasa Gudupharasa Sasasa</i> . To r. Kh. <i>va</i> and <i>pa</i> . To l. M. 32.
165	26109	W. 145.	
166	8952	Kh. <i>tra</i> . W. 144. S. .8.	Pl. V, 7
167	26111	Kh. <i>si</i> . W. 143.	
168	26110	Kh. <i>ga</i> .	
169	29104	Kh. <i>tha</i> .	Pl. V, 8

(3) Type: king on horseback to r. & Pallas, round

170	26106 B	Mounted king to r., right arm extended; in front of horse Gondopharian symbol. Greek leg. similar to no. 163. W. 134. S. .9.	Pallas standing to r. with r. arm extended, spear and shield on l. arm. Kh. leg. <i>Maharaja rajadiraja tratarasa devatata Gudupharasa</i> . To r. M. 15; Kh. <i>ma</i> . To l. M. 55.
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Pl. V, 9

Sl. No.	Accn. No.	Obverse	Reverse
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(4) Type: as type (3), but king on horseback to l. round

171	26107 B	As on no. 170, but king on horseback to l.; r. arm extended. Kh. <i>pra</i> in front of horse. W. 144. S. .9.	As on no. 170. To r. M. 4; 67. To l. Kh. <i>ta; bu</i> . Pl. VI, 2
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(5) Type: head of king & Pallas, round

172	8954 Æ	Head of king to r. diademed. Greek inscription illegible. W. 28. S. .5.	Pallas to r. holding shield and thunderbolt. Partial Kh. legend only of <i>Maharajasa rajatirajasa tratârasa Gadapharnasa</i> . To l. Kh. <i>stra</i> . To r. Kh. <i>ni</i> . Pl. VI, 3
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(6) Type: bust of king & Nike, round

173-179*	26102	Bust of the king to r. diademed. Greek leg. Basileos Soteros Yondophe-ros.	Winged Nike to r. holding wreath and palm. Kh. leg. <i>Maharajasa Gondaphar nasa tratasa</i> .
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* 26094, 26095, 26096, 26097, 26098, 26099.

Sl. No.	Accn. No.	Obverse	Reverse
		W. 132. S. .3.	Pl. VI, 4
180	662	W. 92.	
181	26100		

Unrepresented types :

- (i) King on horseback & standing Zeus with Nike on out-stretched arm, B,
PMC., I, pl. XV, no. 20.
- (ii) Mounted king & standing Zeus with name *Aśpa-varma*, B,
Ibid., pl. XV, no. 35.
- (iii) King on horseback & *Śiva*, B,
Ibid., pl. XV, no. 42.
- (iv) As type (iii), but different leg., B,
Ibid., pl. XV, no. 45.
- (v) Mounted king & Gondophares symbol, *Æ*,
Ibid., pl. XV, no. 69.
- (vi) Enthroned king & Nike, *Æ*,
CCGSK., pl. XXII, no. 10.
- (vii) Enthroned king & standing male figure, *Æ*,
Cunningham, *Coins of the Śakas*, pl. X, no. 11.
- (viii) In incuse area Apollo holding arrow & Gondopharian symbol, *Æ*,
PMC., I, pl. 153, unrep. type iii.
- (ix) Arsakid type, *Æ*,
CCGSK., pl. XXXII, no. 20.

Sl. No.	Accn. No.	Obverse	Reverse
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ABDAGASES

Type: mounted king & standing Zeus with title of Nephew of king Gondophares, round

182	26116	King on horseback to r; in front M. 70. Greek leg. Basileontos Basileony Abdagasoy. W. 131. S. .8.	Zeus standing to r. with long sceptre in l. hand and r. arm extended. Kh. leg. <i>Guduphara bhrata putrasa maharajasa tratarasa Avadagasasa.</i> To r. Kh. <i>su.</i> To l. M. 19.
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Pl. VI, 1

(2) Type: as type (1), but title of king's nephew in Greek, round

* 183 84	26105	As type 1, but Greek leg. Bas...ndiphero (Alloy) Adelphideus. W. 146. S. .85.	As on type 1. To r. M. 69 below Kh. <i>na.</i> To l. M. 68.
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Pl. VI, 6

(3) Type: mounted king & standing Zeus Nikephoros, round

185	8955	King on horseback to r; in front M. 70. Kh. <i>mi</i> below. Greek leg.	Zeus standing to l. with long sceptre in l. hand and bearing Nike on out-
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* 26114

Sl. No.	Accn. No.	Obverse	Reverse
		Basileontos Basileony Abdagaso.	stretched r. hand. Kh. leg. as on type (1). To r. M. 46; Kh. <i>va.</i> To l. M. 15.
		W. 148. S. .85.	
			Pl. VI, 8

(4) Type : bust of king & Nike, round

186	26115 Æ	Bust of king to r. diademed Greek leg. Bas.....Abdagaso. W. 116. S. .8.	Winged Nike to r. holding wreath and palm. Kh. leg. <i>Maharajasa Avadagasasa.</i>
			Pl. VI, 5

Unrepresented types:

As type (2), but king's bust to l., B,
Cunningham, *Coins of the Sakas*, pl. XI, no. 4.

PAKORES

Type : bust of king & Nike, round

187-189*	26117 Æ	Bust of king to l; wears torques behind star. Greek leg. Basileos Basileon Megas Pakores.	Winged Nike to r. with palm and wreath. Kh. leg. <i>Maharajasa rajatirajasa</i> <i>mahatasa Pakurasa.</i>
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* 26118, 26119

Sl. No.	Accn. No.	Obverse	Reverse
		W. 137. S. .8.	To r. Kh. <i>pu</i> . To l. Kh. <i>ga</i> .
			Pl VI, 7

ZEIONISES

Type : king on horse-back & deity, round

190	26124 R	King to r. on horseback; holds whip in r. hand; bow tied to saddle. To r. M. 32. beneath Kh. letters. Corrupt Greek leg. Satrapy Zeionisoy. W. 155. S. 1. 05.	King r. facing a crowned deity with cornucopiae who is crowning him with a wreath. Kh. leg. <i>Manigulasa chatrapasa putrasa chatrapasa Jihuniasa</i> To r. M. 59. To l. Kh. <i>sma</i> .
			Pl. VI., 10

(2) Type : bull & lion, round

191-193 [*]	26121 Æ	Humped bull to r. Above M. 32. below Kh. <i>sa</i> . Greek leg. illegible. W. 163. S. 1.	Lion to r. Kh. leg. <i>Manigula putrasa chatrapasa Jihuniasa</i> . Above Kh. M. 59. below Kh. <i>rma</i> .
			Pl. VI, 9
194	26120	To r. Kh. <i>pu</i> . W. 157. S. .9.	Above M. 55. below in front, Kh. <i>dhra</i> .

• 26122, 26123

Sl. No.	Accn. No.	Obverse	Reverse
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Unrepresented types :

- (i) As type (I), but on reverse king being crowned by two allegorical figures, $\mathcal{R}$,
CCGSK, pl. XXXII, no. 11.
- (ii) Elephant & bull, $\mathcal{A}$, square,
White King, *Sale Cat.*, pt. I, pl. IV, no. 198.

SOTER MEGAS**Type : diademed bust of king & horseman, with Greek legend only, round**

195	26164 $\mathcal{A}$	Within dotted border diademed bust of king to r., radiate, holding long filleted sceptre or lance. To l. M. 70. W. 140. S. .85.	King on horseback to r holding <i>ankus</i> . Greek leg. Basileos Basileon Soter Megas To r. M. 70. Pl VII, 2
196-227	26128 *	No border. W. 123. S. .8.	,, „ but square forms of Greek letters. To l. Soter.... Below. l. Leon. Pl VII, 8
228	26158	W. 43. S. .55.	Pl. VII, 4

* 26159, 10208, 10209, 26125-127, 26129-153.

Sl. No.	Accn. No.	Obverse	Reverse
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(2) Type: king on horseback & standing Zeus,
bi-lingual, round

229	26154 Æ	King on horseback to r. with <i>añkus</i> in raised r. hand. To r. M. 70. Greek leg... Basileon.. W. 148. S. .9.	Zeus to r. with r. arm outstretched and a long sceptre in the l. hand. Kh. leg. <i>Maharajasa</i> <i>rajatirajasa mahatarasa</i> <i>tratarasa</i> . To r. flowerpot & plant. To l. Kh. vi. Pl. VII, 3
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¹ 230-232	26157	W. 24. S. .5:	Pl. VII, 6
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(3) Type: diademed bust of king & Zeus with
Greek inscription only, round

² 233-234	10211 Æ	within dotted border diad- emed bust of king to r.; radiate holding a long fillited sceptre. To r. M. 73. To l. M. 70. W. 55. S. .7.	Standing Zeus with sceptre in l. hand and thunderbolt in r. hand. Corrupt Greek leg. .. Basileon Soter me... Pl. VII, 1
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1. 26156, 26155.
2. 10210.

Sl. No.	Accn. No.	Obverse	Reverse
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Unrepresented types:

- (i) Helmeted bust of king & horseman, *Æ*,
PMC., I, pl. XVI, no. 94.
- (ii) Deity with cornucopiae, no legend, *Æ*,
Ibid, pl. XVI, no. 113.

HERAOS

Type : bust of king & horseman with Greek inscription only, round

235	26160 <i>Æ</i>	Within reel and pellet border diademed bust of king to r. W. 228. S. 1. 2.	King on horseback to r., bow and quiver tied to saddle followed by flying figure of Nike with wreath. Greek leg. Turannountos Heraus korsano. Below, sanab.
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Pl. VII, 10

Unrepresented types :

- (i) Bust of king & standing figure with Greek inscription, *Æ*,
PMC., I., pl. XVI, no. 116.
- (ii) Bust of king & horseman with Nike flying after him, *Æ*,
Cunningham, *Coins of the Śakas*, pl. IX, no. 3.

Sl. No	Accn. No.	Obverse	Reverse
-----------	--------------	---------	---------

HYRKODES

Type : bust of king & standing figure, Greek legend only, round

236	26162 AR	Diademed bust of king to r. To l. Greek leg. Ko W 21. S. .55.	Draped figure standing to front with long sceptre or spear in r. hand. Flames issuing from shoulders. To r. Greek leg. Hyrco... Pl. VII, 5
-----	-------------	---	---

(2) Type : bust of king & horse's head, Greek legend only, round

237	26163 AR	Diademed bust of king to r. W. 27. S. .6.	Head and forequarters of bridled horse to r. To l. ... Yrco.. Pl. VII, 9
-----	-------------	---	---

PHSEIGACHARIS

Type : bust of king & Herakles, round

238	7341 AR	In reel and pellet border bust of king to r. W. 51. S. .65.	Standing radiate figure of Herakles with club and lion's skin. Greek leg. Phseigaxaris Pl. VII, 7
-----	------------	--	---

APPENDICES -

- 1 Unrepresented kings & their coin-types
- 2 Glossary
 - (i) Greek Titles
 - (ii) Prākṛt Epithets
 - (iii) Miscellaneous Terms
- 3 Greek Inscriptions
- 4 Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions
- 5 Monograms

UNREPRESENTED KINGS AND THEIR COIN-TYPES

Indo-Scythian kings

VONONES with SPALAGADAMES

- (i) King on horseback & Zeus, *AR* (*PMC.*, I, pl. XIV, no. 382).
- (ii) Herakles & Pallas, *Æ* (*Ibid*, pl. XIV, no. 385).

SPALIRŠES as king's Brother

King on horseback & Zeus, *AR* (*PMC.*, I, pl. XIV, no. 394).

SPALIRIŠES with AZES

- (i) King on horseback & Zeus, *AR* (*PMC.*, I, pl. XIV, no. 395).
- (ii) As type (i), but bow and arrow, *Æ* (*Ibid*, pl. XIV, no. 396).

SPALIRIŠES as king

King & enthroned Zeus, *Æ* (*PMC.*, I, pl. XIV, no. 397).

ATHAMA

Mounted king, *AV* (*PMC.*, I, pl. XIV, no. 397).

Indo-Parthian kings

ORTHAGNES

- (i) Bust of king & Nike with names of Gondophares and of Gudu (Gad), *Æ* (*PMC.*, I, pl. XVI, no. 72).
- (ii) As type (i), but with name Gundrana alone, *Æ* (*Ibid*, p. 156, no. 75).

SANABARES

- (i) Bust of king & king seated on throne, *AR* (*CCGSK.*, pl. XXIII, no. 10).
- (ii) Head of king & king seated on stool, *Æ* (*Ibid*, pl. XXIII, no. 11).
- (iii) Bust of king & Nike, *Æ* (*Ibid*, pl. XXIII, no. 12).

KHARAHOSTES

- (i) King on horseback & lion, Æ (*PMC.*, I pl. XVI, no. 91).
- (ii) As type (i), but standing figure, Æ (*Ibid*, p. 159, no. 93).

SAPALEIZES

Helmeted bust of king to r. with Greek inscription NANAIA, Æ
(*CCGSK.*, pl. XXIV, nos. 14, 15).

ARSAKES THEOS

- (i) The Indo-Parthian type, Æ (Cunningham, *Coins of the Sakas*, pl. XI, nos. 11 & 12).
- (ii) The Arsakid type, Æ. (*CCGSK.*, pl. XXXII, no. 12).

GLOSSARY

[1] GREEK TITLES

Title	English Transcription	English rendering
ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ	Basileos	Of the king
ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ	Basileon	King
ΜΕΓΑΣ	Megas	Great
ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ	Dikaioy	Pious
ΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ ΤΟΥ	Adelphoy toy	Brother's son
ΣΩΤΗΡ	Soter	Saviour
ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΥ	Autokratoy	King absolute
ΘΕΟΥ	Theoy	Divine
ΣΑΚΑ ΚΑΙΡΑΝΟΥ	Šaka Korsano*	Šaka Kuṣāṇa
ΣΑΤΡΑΠΟΥ	Satrapoy	Satrap
ΤΥΡΑΝΝΟΥΝΤΟΣ	Turannountos	Great King
ΥΙΟΥ	Yeoy	Son
ΣΑΝΑΒ	Sanab	Chief

* Cunningham reads it 'tsanaw Korsanori' as the exact equivalent of 'Devaputra Kuṣāṇa' (*Coins of the Śakas*, p. 12).

[2] PRAKṚT EPITHETS

Prākṛt epithets	Sanskṛt equivalent	English rendering
Raja Raja	Rājarāja	The king of kings
Mahataka	Mahatka	The great
Maharaja	Mahārāja	The great king
Dhramika	Dhārmika	Pious
Jayaḍhara	Jayadhara	Bearer of Victory
Devatrata	Devatrātā	Protected by the God
Tradata	Trātā	Saviour
Putrasa	Putra	Son
Chatrapasa	Kshatrap	Governor
Bhṛata	Bhrātā	Brother
Rājanasa	Rajana	King
Strategasa	Senāpati	General
Cha	Cha	and

[3] MISCELLANEOUS TERMS

Attic standard	: Standardised gold unit of 132 grains at Athens.
Aegis	: A type of shield.
Astragalos border	: Circular border formed by reels and beads.
Chiton	: A gown or tunic with or without sleeves worn by both the sex usually next to the skin.
Diadem	: Blue and white band tied round the tiara of the monarch—a symbol of royalty.
Fillet	: A narrow band of ribbon or the like worn around the head usually as an ornament.
Himation	: A garment consisting of rectangular piece of cloth thrown over the left shoulder & wrapped around the body.
Incuse square	: Stamped in square—a design in a coin.
Obverse	: Side of the coin depicting mounted king (normally).
Pellet border	: Circular border formed by dots.
Reverse	: Side of the coin showing a deity (normally).
Radiate	Emitting rays.
Torque	: A collar necklace or similar ornament consisting of a twisted narrow band usually of precious metal.

THE GREEK ALPHABET ON COINS

Form	Value	Form	Value
A	a	N	n
B	b	Ξ	X (ks)
Γ	g	□, O	o
Δ	d	Π	p
E	e	P	ϣ
Z	z	£, €, Σ	s
H	ē	T	t
Θ	th	Υ	w
I	i	Φ	Ph
K	k	X	Kh
Λ	L	Ψ	Ps
HM	m	ω, ω, Ω	ō

ENGLISH TRANSCRIPTION

Cat. No.

1.	Basileos	Basileon	Megaloy	Mayoy.
20.	Basileos	Basileon	Megaloy	Ononoy.
25.	Spalyrios	Dikaioy	Adelphoy Toy	Basileos.
30.	Basileos	Basileon	Megaloy	Azoy.
54.	Basileos	Basileon	Megaloy	Azilisoy.
163.	Basileos	Basileon	Megaloy	Yondepheroy.
170.	Basileos	Basileon	Megalondopheroy.	
173.	Basileos	Soteros	Yondopheroy.	
182.	Basileontos	Basileony	Abdagasoy.	
183.	Bas.....	Ndipheroi	Adelphideus.	
186.	Bas.....	Abdagasoy.		
187.	Basileos	Basileon	Megas	Pakores.
190.	Satrapy	Zeionisoy.		
195.	Basileos	Basileon	Soter	Megas.
235.	Turannountos	Heroy	Kopanoy.	Sanab Saka.
236.	oykyo....			
237.	Phsigacharis.			

GREEK LEGENDS.

1. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΜΑΥΟΥ.
- 20 ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΟΝΩΝΟΥ.
25. ΕΠΑΛΥΡΙΔΕ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ.
30. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΖΟΥ.
54. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΖΙΛΙΣΟΥ.
- 163 ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΥΝΔΟΦΕΡΟΥ.
170. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΔΟΦΕΡΟΥ.
173. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΩΤΗΡΩΣ ΥΝΔΟΦΕΡΟΥ
- 182 ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΑΒΔΑΓΑΣΟΥ.
- 183 ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΝΔΙΦΕΡΩ ΑΔΕΛΦΙΔΕΩΣ
186. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΒΔΑΓΑΣΟΥ
187. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΤΑΣ ΠΑΚΟΡΩΣ.
190. ΣΑΤΡΑΠΥ ΖΕΙΩΝΙΣΟΥ.
- 195 ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΕΩΤΗΡ ΜΕΓΑΣ.
235. ΤΥΑΝΝΟΝΤΩΣ ΗΑΟΥ ΚΩΗΑΝΟΥ ΣΑΝΑΒ ΣΑΚΑ
236. ΟΥΚΥΟ
237. ΦΕΙΤΑΧΑΡΙΣ

THE KHAROŠTHĪ ALPHABET ON COINS

Value	Form	Value	Form
a	𑀓	dha	𑀢
i	𑀓	na	𑀢
u	𑀓	pa	𑀢
e	𑀓	pha	𑀢
o	𑀓	ba	𑀢
ka	𑀓	bha	𑀢
kha	𑀓	ma	𑀢
ga	𑀓	ya	𑀢
gha	𑀓	ra	𑀢
ca	𑀓	la	𑀢
cha	𑀓	va	𑀢
ja	𑀓	sa	𑀢
jha	𑀓	śa	𑀢
jña	𑀓	ṣa	𑀢
ṭa	𑀓	ha	𑀢
ṭha	𑀓	kra	𑀢
ḍa	𑀓	tra	𑀢
ḍha	𑀓	pra	𑀢
ta	𑀓	rkha	𑀢
da	𑀓	stra	𑀢

COMPOSITE KHAROSTHI WORDS

Value	Form	Value	Form	Value	Form
¹ Age		¹¹ Ju		²¹ Su	
² Am		¹² Jham		²² Si	
³ Bu		¹³ Lo		²³ Stra	
⁴ Bra		¹⁴ Mo		²⁴ Sagi	
⁵ De		¹⁵ Me		²⁵ Sram	
⁶ Dhra		¹⁶ Mi		²⁶ Te	
⁷ Di		¹⁷ Ni		²⁷ Tu	
⁸ Gu		¹⁸ Pra		²⁸ Tra	
⁹ Go		¹⁹ Phre		²⁹ Vi	
¹⁰ Ji		²⁰ Rma		³⁰ Vri	
	³¹ Rjhu		³¹ Sam		

ENGLISH TRANSCRIPTION

Cat. No.

1. Rajadirajasa mahatasa Moasa.
20. Maharaja bhrata dhramikasa Spalahorasa.
25. Spalahora putrasa dhramikasa Spalagadamasa.
30. Maharajasa rajarajasa mahatasa Ayasa.
54. Maharajasa rajarajasa mahatasa Ayilishasa.
131. Maharajasa mahatasa dhramikasa rajadhirajasa Ayasa.
153. Indravarma putrasa Aspavarmasa strategasa jayatasa.
163. Maharaja rajadhiraja tradata devatrata Gudupharas.
164. Maharajasa mahatasa devatratasa Gadapharasa Sasasa.
173. Maharajasa Gondapharnasa tratarasa.
182. Gudupharabhrata putrasa maharajasa tratarasa Avadagasasa.
186. Maharajasa Gudaphrasa.
187. Maharajasa rajatirajasa mahatasa Paukurasa.
190. ... Gulasa chatrapasa putrasa chatrapasa Jihuniyasa.
230. Maharajasa rajatirajasa mahatasa tradatasa

KHAROSTHI
LEGENDS. —

CAT. NO

- P7Y P7~ P7Y7Y7 1
 P7Y7Y7 P7Y7Y7 Y7Y7 20
 P7Y7Y7 P7Y7Y7 P7Y7Y7 25
 P7Y7Y7 P7Y7Y7 P7Y7Y7 30
 P7Y7Y7 P7Y7Y7 P7Y7Y7 54
 P7Y7Y7 P7Y7Y7 P7Y7Y7 131
 P7Y7Y7 P7Y7Y7 P7Y7Y7 153
 P7Y7Y7 P7Y7Y7 P7Y7Y7 163
 P7Y7Y7 P7Y7Y7 P7Y7Y7 164
 P7Y7Y7 P7Y7Y7 P7Y7Y7 173
 P7Y7Y7 P7Y7Y7 P7Y7Y7 181
 P7Y7Y7 P7Y7Y7 P7Y7Y7 186
 P7Y7Y7 P7Y7Y7 P7Y7Y7 197
 P7Y7Y7 P7Y7Y7 P7Y7Y7 190
 P7Y7Y7 P7Y7Y7 P7Y7Y7 230

. MONOGRAMS .

							
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
							
9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
							
17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
							
25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32
							
33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40
							
41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48
							
49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56
							
57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64
							
65	66	67	68	69	70	71	

PLATE I



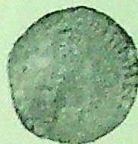
1



2



3



4



5



6



7



8

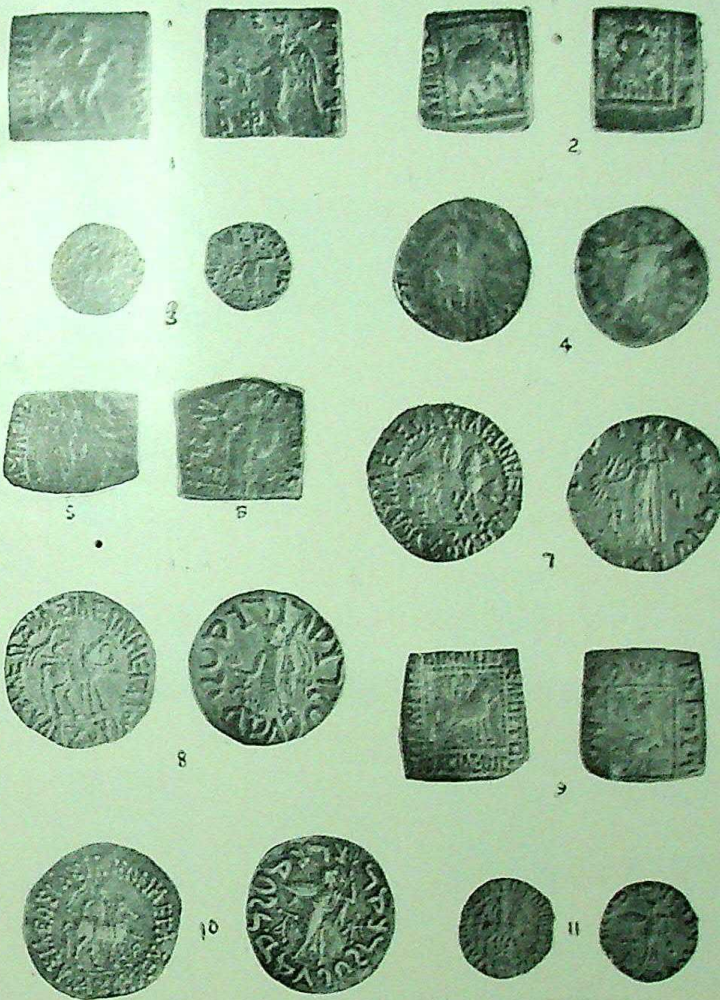


9



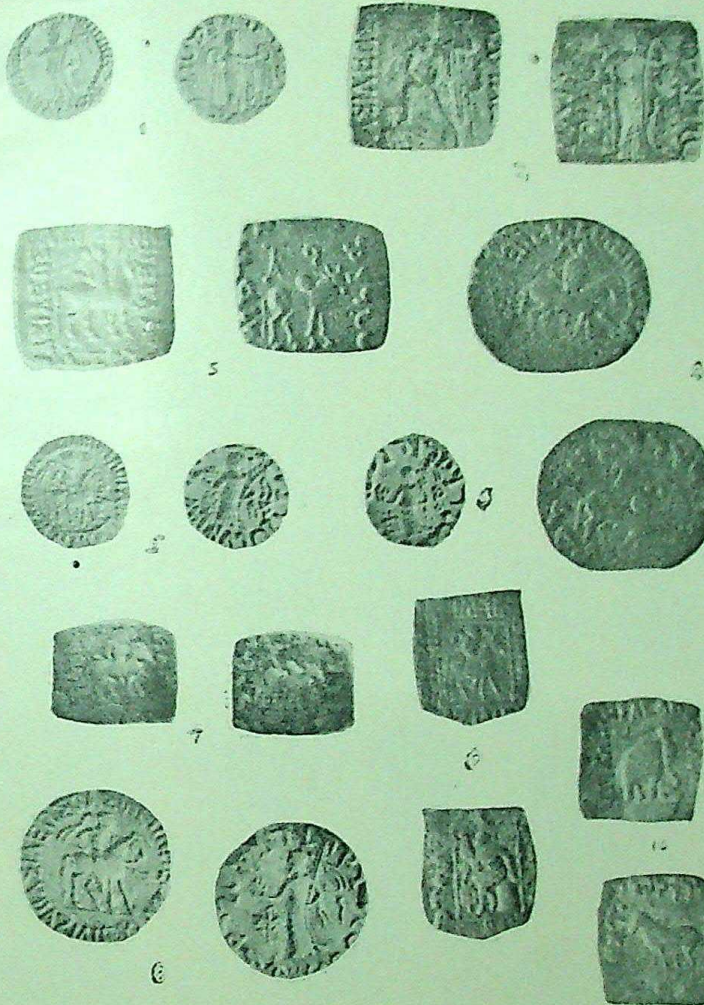
MAUES

PLATE II.



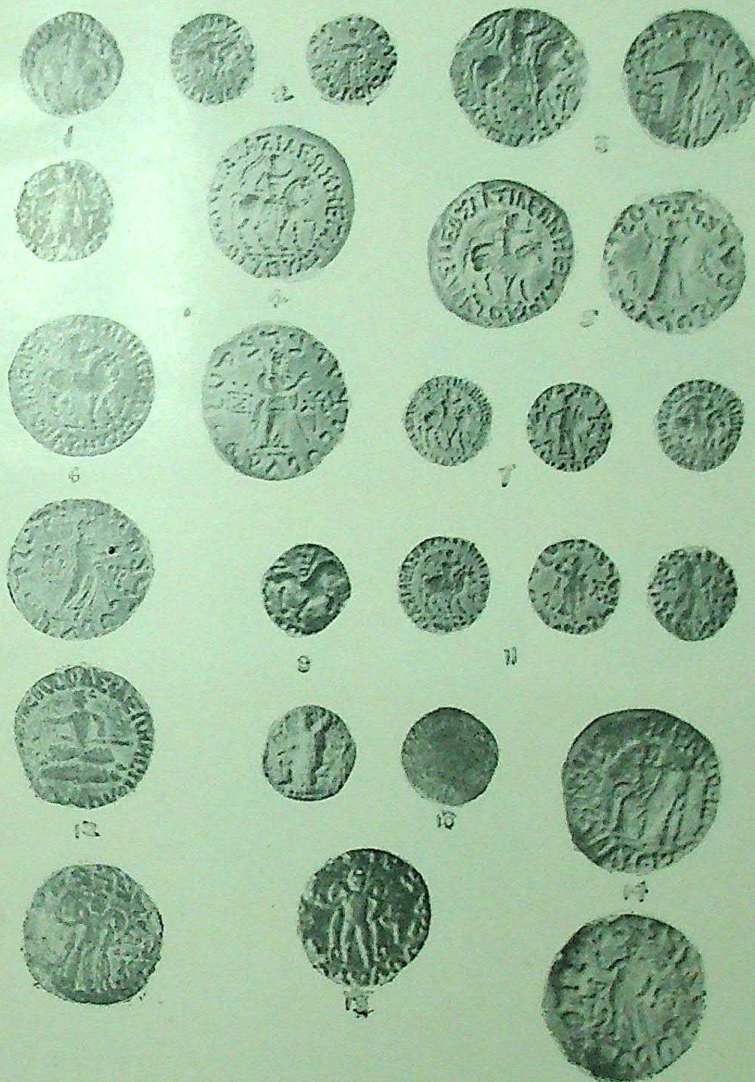
Mates, 1-2; Vonones with Spalahores, 3-6; Spalyris with Spalagadames, 9;
Azas I, 7, 8, 10, 11.

PLATE III



AZES I

PLATE IV



Azilises & Azes, 2-3; Azes II, 1, 4-14.

PLATE V



Azes, 1-4; Azes with Aspavarma, 5; Gondophares, 6-8.

PLATE VI



Gondophares, 2-4; Abdagases, 1, 5, 6, 8; Pakores, 7; Zeionises, 9-10.

PLATE VII



Soter Megas, 1-4, 6, 8; Heraos, 10; Hyrkodes, 5, 9; Phseigacharis, 7



Fig. 1 Apollo



Fig. 2 Artemis



Fig. 3 Bacchante

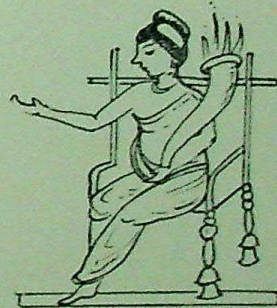


Fig. 4 Demeter

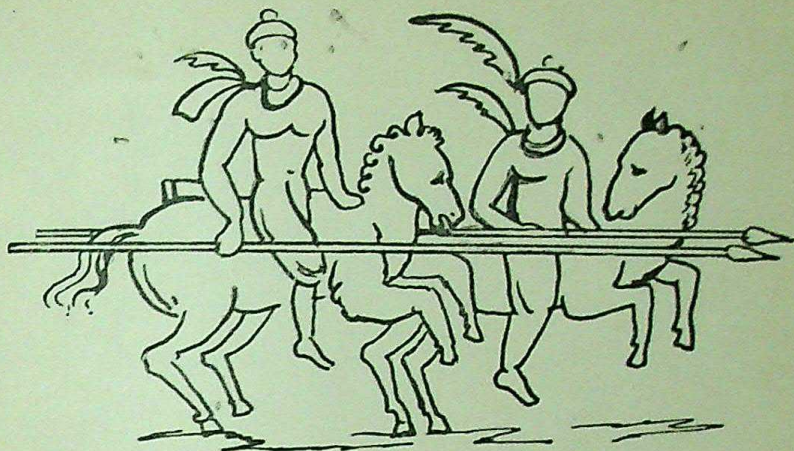


Fig. 5 Dioscouroi



Figs. 6, 7, 8 Herakles

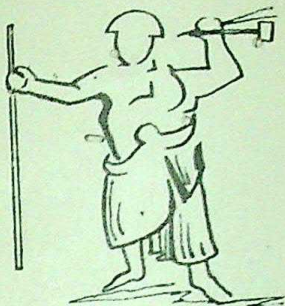


Fig. 9 Hephaistos



Fig. 10 Hermes



Fig. 11 Nike



Fig. 12 Pallas



Fig. 13 Pallas



Fig. 14 Poseidon



Fig. 15 Tyche



Fig. 16 Zeus



Fig. 17 Zeus



Fig. 18 Zeus



Fig. 19 Zeus



Fig. 20 City deity



Fig. 21 City deity



Fig. 22 City deity with Zeus



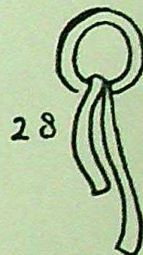
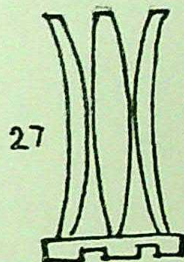
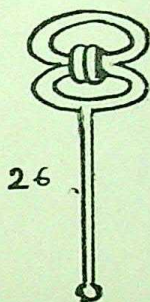
Fig. 23 City deity



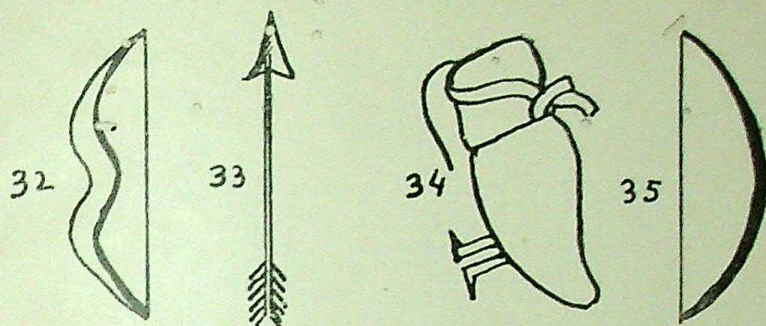
Fig. 24 Siva



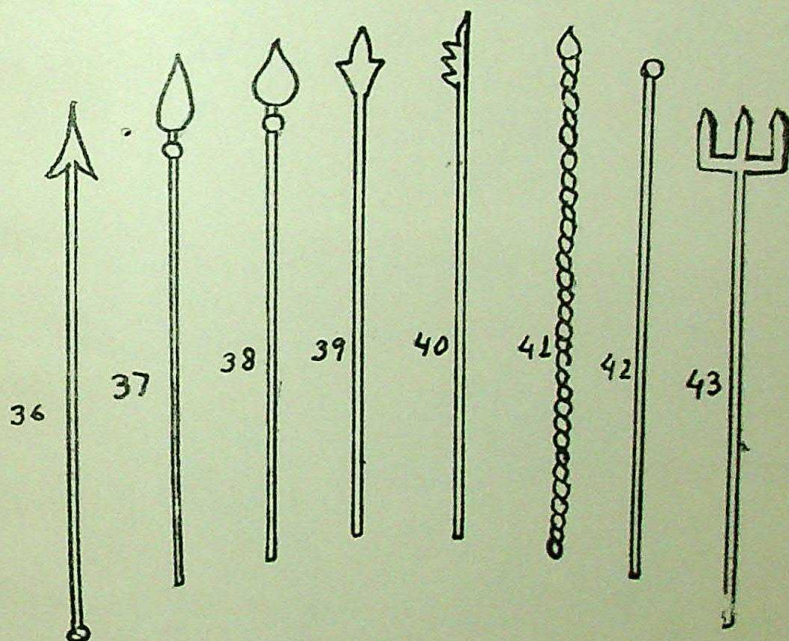
Fig. 25 Lakshmi



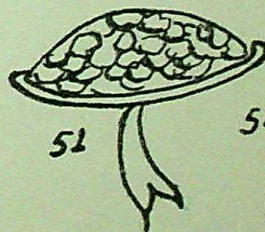
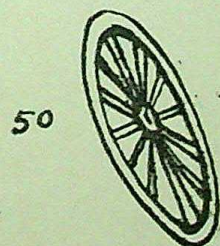
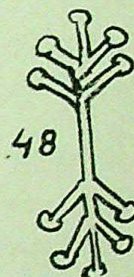
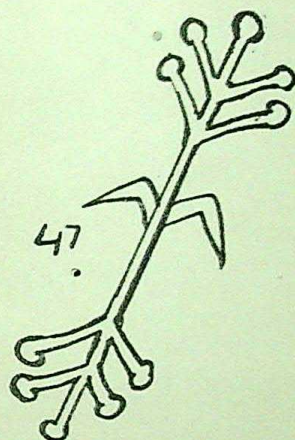
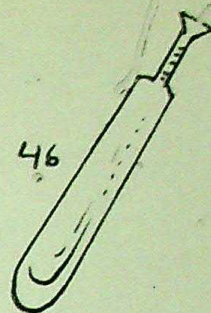
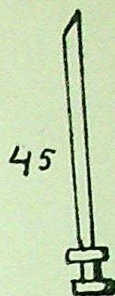
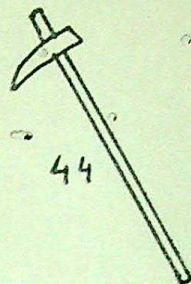
Caduceus (26); Tripod Lebes (27); Wreath bound with fillet (28);
Lion's skin (29); Palm branch (30); Cornucopias (31)



Bow (32, 35); Arrow (33); Quiver (34)



Javelin (36); Lance (37-39); Sceptre (40-42); Trident (43)



Battle axe (44); Sword (45); Club (46) Thunderbolt (47-49); Wheel (50); Shield (51-52)

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